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NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

IN

BORNEO AND CELEBES,

DOWN TO

THE OCCUPATION OF LABUAN:

FROM THE

JOURNALS OF JAMES BROOKE, ESQ.

RAJAH OF SARĀWAK, AND GOVERNOR OF LABUAN.

TOGETHER WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE OPERATIONS OF H.M.S. IRIS.

BY

CAPTAIN RODNEY MUNDY, R.N.

WITH NUMEROUS PLATES, MAPS, CHARTS, AND WOODCUTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP. XXII.

Morality of Dyak Women. Negotiations with the Home Government. Letter to the Six Chiefs of Sarēbas. Dyak Excursions. Kayan Head-taking. Trial of a Pontiana Man for Theft. State of Affairs at Brunè. Petty Intrigues. League between Sherriff Osman and Pangeran Usop. The Sarēbas and Sakarran Pirates. The Balanini Islands. Cruising Voyages of the Freebooters. British Subjects sold into Slavery. Visit to the Sultan and Muda Hassim. Factions in Borneo. Object of Mr. Brooke's Mission. Visit to the Coal Veins. Prospects of Commerce. Progress of Sarāwak. Intelligence concerning Sherriff Osman. Search for Coal. Leave Brunè for Labuan. Mr. Brooke's Movements. Return to Brunè. Interviews with Sir Thomas Cochrane. Speculations on future Proceedings. British Squadron in the Brunè River. Interview with the Sultan. Flight of Pangeran Usop. Second Visit to the Sultan. Attack Maludu. Capture it. Prisoners taken by the English. Character of the Sultan. Negotiations concerning Sarāwak - - - - - - - Page 1

CHAP. XXIII.

Return to Sarāwak. Improvement of the Dyak Population. Their Manners and Customs. Curious Ceremony. Dances. Cares of Government. Treaty with Bandar Cassim. Sa-

rebas and Sakarran Piracies. Robbery of one of the English Houses. Quarrels among the Sakarrans. Interview with Abang Kapi. Bad State of native Government. Scarcity of Rice. Increasing Trade. Character of Der Makota. Interview with this Chief. Contract between Muda Hassim and the Chinese. Influence of the Celestials in the Island. Arrival of the "Julia" from Singapore. Completion of Negotiations with the Linga Chiefs. Politics of the Pirates. Future Regeneration of the Land. Expedition against the Pirates. Preparations for the Expedition. Arrival of Strangers. A Gentleman fond of Poultry. Visit from a disguised Prince. Beautiful Plant - - Page 41

CHAP. XXIV.

State of Provisions in the Interior. Condition of the Sarambo Tribe. The Tumangong's Professions. Proceedings of the Balow and Sarāwak Squadrons. Encounter with the Pirates. Capture of their Fleet. Repentance and Death of Si Gila. Curious Superstition of the Sea Dyaks. Capture of a Murderer. Intelligence from Sakarran. Sickness of Mr. Brooke. Native Mode of Warfare. Catch a Crocodile. Method of seizing it. Discussion as to its Disposal. Plunder of a Sago Boat. News of Pangeran Usop's Death. Progress of Events at Brunè. Arrival of Emigrants from Sambas. Another Influx of Strangers. Growing Prosperity of Sarāwak. Foreign Relations. Value of detached Stations - 61

CHAP. XXV.

New Year's Day. News of a formidable Fleet of Pirates. Change in the Aspect of Affairs. Suppression of Piracy. Arrival of the Hazard. News from Brunè. Massacre of the Royal Family. Guilt of the Sultan. Probable Proceedings of the British Government. The Brunè River fortified

Cruize in the Phlegethon. Mr. Brooke's Reflections on the Massacre at Brunè. Conclusion of Mr. Brooke's Journal. Page 80

CAPTAIN MUNDY'S JOURNAL.

CHAP. I.

The Iris on the African Coast. News from England. "Borneo and Mr. Brooke." Island of Ascension. Return to Portsmouth. Sail for China. The Dido. The Iris and the French Squadron. Monsoons in the Formosa Channel. Opium Clippers. Appointment to the Straits' Station. Visit Sumatra. Cannibals. Sail for Madras. Calcutta. Massacre of Muda Hassim and other Members of the Royal Family. The British Squadron off Sarāwak. Meeting with Mr. Brooke. His philanthropic Measures. Town and Residence - - - - - - 96

CHAP. II.

Steaming down the Sarāwak. Fugitives from Brunè. Preparations for its Defence. Extent of the Massacre at the Capital. Mr. Brooke's Departure from Sarāwak. Visit a Dyak Village. Sailing of the Squadron. Expedition up the Rejang. Patingi Abdulraman's House. The Kanōwit River. Ruined Village. Surprise the Pirate Settlement of Kanōwit. Visit from the Chief. Examination of the Houses. Accident to the Steamer. Village of Igan. Return to the Squadron. Jaffer's Examination. Account of the Borneo Massacre. Death of Muda Hassim and Pangeran Budrudeen. Conspiracy to murder Mr. Brooke. Character of Budrudeen. Anchor off the Brunè River - - - - 112

CHAP. III.

Chase of trading Prahus. Squadron enters the Borneo River. Letter from the Sultan. Scheme of Treachery. Plan of the Operations against Brunè. Progress of the Expedition. Commencement of Hostilities. The Enemy's Batteries. Casualties on board the Phlegethon. Value of Steamers in River Operations. The City Battery silenced. Capture of Guns. Destruction of the Works. Fall of Brunè Page 139

CHAP. IV.

Flight of the Sultan. Expedition in pursuit of his Highness. Village of Kabiran Battu. Difficulties of the March. Capture of a Six-gun Battery. Return to Head-quarters. Recommence the Expedition. Advance into the Interior. Village of Pelong. Encamp at Malŭt. Reach Damūan. Find it evacuated by the Sultan's Forces. Destroy the Magazines, and burn the Stockade. Expedition rejoins the Steamers. Inhabitants return to the City. Complete the Destruction of the River Batteries. Character of Hajji Saman. Sir Thomas Cochrane and Mr. Brooke discover a large Coal-seam. Squadron leaves the Borneo River. Anchors at Labuan. Proceed to the Northward. Visit Bundu. Dangerous Position of the Squadron. Visit Kimanis. Mankabong. Ambong. Capture a Pirate Prahu. Destroy the Pirate Town of Tampassuk - - - 153

CHAP. V.

Burning of Pandassan. Chase and Destruction of Pirate Prahus. Visit to the ruined Fortress of Malludu. Pursuit of a Pirate Fleet. Successful Stratagem of the Pirates. Subsequent Destruction of Pirate Prahus. Departure of the Admiral. Captain Mundy left in Command of the Squadron.

The Admiral's early Hours. Boats of Iris sent on Service. Anchor in Ambong Bay. Traffic. Destruction of another Illanun Village. Grand Market. Native Commodities. Barter. News of Hajji Saman. Departure for Kimanis. Visit of native Chiefs. Proceed up the River. Conference. Preparations for an Expedition against Hajji Saman. Fleet of native Auxiliaries. Enter the River Mambakut. Mr. Brooke gives Audience on the Beach. First Symptoms of Hostilities. Attack and Capture of Hajji Saman's fortified Position. Pirate Village. Burial Places - Page 197

CHAP. VI.

Destruction of Hajji Saman's Mansion. Dyak Courtship. Head-hunting. Burning of a second Village. Progress up the River. Bivouac in a Pirate Hamlet. Amazement of the Natives. Deserter from the Enemy. Fall of the River. Vegetation on the Banks. Necessity of severe Measures. The Sumpitan. Description of the Darts. Attempt to destroy a Tomb. English Goods discovered. Defence of the River. Malay Gunnery. Native Ambush. Attack and destroy the Position. Return to the Phlegethon. Casualties during the Expedition. Entertain the native Chiefs on board. Departure of Mr. Brooke for Brunè. Return to Kimanis. Success of our Operations. Progress of Events at Brunè. The Sultan retires again to the Jungle. Letter from Mr. Brooke - - - - - 221

CHAP. VII.

Arrival at Brunè. Gay Appearance of the River. Audience with Pangeran Mumin. Sail from Borneo River. Anchor off Kimanis. Threatened Attack of Pirates. Preparations for Defence. Piratical Tribe of Sarang. Chase of Prahus. Preparations for an Expedition to destroy Sarang. Pre-

vented by a Gale. Dangerous Navigation. Driven into Malludu Bay. Critical Position of the Iris. Regain Ambong. Success of the Operations. Illanuns finally driven from the north-west Coast of Borneo - - Page 238

CHAP. VIII.

News from Brunè. Violent Weather. Success of the Threats against Hajii Saman. Visits from the Orang-Kaya of Kimanis. Deputations from Benoni and Pappar. Friendly Overtures. Arrive at the Brunè River. Charts of the eastern Seas. Death and Burial of the Coxswain. Fleet of trading Prahus. Intelligence from the Capital. Deputation from the Sultan. Refusal of his Presents. Audience with his Highness. Superstitious Ceremony. Conversations. Singularity of Mr. Brooke's Position. The Sultan's Pedigree - - - - - - - 254

CHAP. IX.

Success of the Mission to Pappar and Benoni. Complimentary Letter and Present from the Sultan. Dangerous Navigation. The "pretty Iris." Arrival at Sarāwak. Mr. Brooke and the native Chiefs. News of a Change of Ministry. Death of Captain Maitland. The Sultan's Letter to Mr. Brooke. Visit to the Datu Bandar. Progress of Industry. The Fort. Mr. Brooke's Military Forces. European Residents in Sarāwak. Take Leave of Mr. Brooke. Prospects of his Government. Death of Lieut. Mathews. The Funeral. Arrival off Singapore. News of Reinforcement. Probable Occupation of Labuan. Arrival of the Wolf. Orders to take Possession of Labuan. Extract from Sir T. Cochrane's Despatch - - - - - - 268

CHAP. X.

Return to Sarāwak. Advice of Mr. Brooke. Improvements there. Destruction of the "Beauty." Narrow Escape of the Jolly Bachelor. Sail for the River Brunè. Prospects of Labuan. Anchor in the Brunè River. Orders of the British Government. Audience with the Sultan. Warm Discussions. Signature of the Treaty for the Cession of Labuan. Present to his Highness. Termination of the Interview. Anchor at Labuan. Commencement of Labour there. Preparations for Hoisting the British Flag. Arrival of Pangeran Mumin with the Brunè Fleet. Inscription to commemorate the Taking of the Island. Ceremony of Hoisting the Flag. Captain Mundy's Speech. Animating Spectacle. Déjeûné to the Prime Minister and Chiefs. Detection of a Thief. Christmas Day at Labuan. Harbour of Labuan. Close of the Year - - - - Page 288

CHAP. XI.

Commencement of the new Year. Discovery of a Spring. Illness of Captain Gordon. Progress of Works. Island of Malankassan. Death of Captain Gordon. Selection of a Grave. The Funeral. Sail from Labuan. Arrival at Singapore. Extract from Sir Thomas Cochrane's Despatches relative to Settlers in Labuan. Letter from Mr. Brooke. Commerce of the Straits. Official Statement of the Trade with Borneo and Celebes. Death of Mr. Airey. Funeral. Arrival at Pinang. The Iris ordered Home. Preparations for Departure. The Return to Spithead delayed. Surrender of Hajji Saman. Decision as to his Fate. News of Rear Admiral Inglefield. Arrival of the Vernon and Acorn. Society of Pinang. - 314

CHAP. XII.

Remarks on the Island of Labuan. Geographical Position. Superficial Area. Character of the Ground. Soil. Woods and Jungle. The Camphor Tree. Rattans. Supply of Water. Victoria Harbour. Detached Islets. Comparison of Singapore with Labuan. Future Trade. Policy which should be pursued. Communication with the wild Tribes of Borneo. Kallias River. Productions. Gutta Percha. Extent of the Supply. Camphor. Bees'-wax. Sugar-canes. Coffee. Betel. Cocoa-nuts. Leeches. Coal. Analysis of the Coal. Labuan Coal Seams. Imports in Demand at Brunè. Native Currency. - - - 334

CHAP. XIII.

Success of Sir Thomas Cochrane's Policy. Iris sails for England. Cape of Good Hope. St. Helena. Ascension. Arrive at Spithead. Intelligence from Borneo. Mr. Brooke at Brunè. Action of the Nemesis and Balanini Pirates. Gallant Conduct of Commander Grey. Admirable Defence of the Pirates. Their Defeat. Release of Captives. Execution of Pirates by the Sultan. Mr. Brooke returns to Sarāwak. Embarks for England. Detention at Ceylon. Arrives at Southampton, after an Absence of nine Years. Remarks on Mr. Brooke's Career. Flattering Reception in England. Visit to Her Majesty at Windsor. Appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Labuan. Receives the Freedom of the City of London. Missionary Meetings. Conclusion. - - - - - 352

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

GEOLOGY OF SARĀWAK.

Difficulties of obtaining Information. Santubong Mountain. Coast Geology. Mixed Materials. Large Boulders. Igneous Rocks. Soil. Varieties of Conformation. Limestone Formations. Antimony Ore. Immense natural Caves of Gunong Tabong. Cavern Temples. The Fire Mountain. Mineral Veins. Gold Mines, and Method of working Tin and Lead. Iron Mines. Coal Formations. Bituminous Shale. Pulokaingaran. Coal of Kiangi, Moarra, and Labuan - 376

EVENTS IN BORNEO.

CHAP. XXII.

MORALITY OF DYAK WOMEN. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE HOME GOVERNMENT. — LETTER TO THE SIX CHIEFS OF SARĒBAS. — DYAK EXCURSIONS. — KAYAN HEAD-TAKING. — TRIAL OF A PONTIANA MAN FOR THEFT. — STATE OF AFFAIRS AT BRUNÈ. — PETTY INTRIGUES. — LEAGUE BETWEEN SHERRIFF OSMAN AND PANGERAN USOP. — THE SARĒBAS AND SAKARRAN PIRATES. — THE BALANINI ISLANDS. — CRUISING VOYAGES OF THE FREE-BOOTERS. — BRITISH SUBJECTS SOLD INTO SLAVERY. — VISIT TO THE SULTAN AND MUDA HASSIM. — FACTIONS IN BORNEO. — OBJECT OF MR. BROOKE'S MISSION. — VISIT TO THE COAL VEINS. — PROSPECTS OF COMMERCE. — PROGRESS OF SARĀWAK. — INTELLIGENCE CONCERNING SHERRIFF OSMAN. — SEARCH FOR COAL. — LEAVE BRUNÈ FOR LABUAN. — MR. BROOKE'S MOVEMENTS. — RETURN TO BRUNÈ. — INTERVIEWS WITH SIR THOMAS COCHRANE. — SPECULATIONS ON FUTURE PROCEEDINGS. — BRITISH SQUADRON IN THE BRUNÈ RIVER. — INTERVIEW WITH THE SULTAN. — FLIGHT OF PANGERAN USOP. — SECOND VISIT TO THE SULTAN. — ATTACK MALLUDU. — CAPTURE IT. — PRISONERS TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. — CHARACTER OF THE SULTAN. — NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING SARĀWAK.

Jan. 1. 1845. — THE departure of the Dido left me sad and lonely, for Keppel had been really my companion and friend; and he so thoroughly entered into my views for the suppression of piracy, and made them his own, that I may not expect any

1845. Jan. 1.

1845. successor to act with the same vigour and the same decision. Gallant Didos! I would ask no further aid or protection than I received from you.

Jan. 4. *Jan.* 4. — I had a discussion with Mr. Hupé, the German missionary, regarding the state of morals among the Dyak women, which he described as comparatively low when judged by the usual standard of Asiatic countries. Indeed, he appeared to imagine that there was a very imperceptible bar to a general freedom of intercourse between the opposite sexes, and his statements being so much opposed to the accounts I had previously received, I have since made more particular inquiries on the subject. I have now quite satisfied myself of the moral code amongst the Sea Dyaks, which are a very large population. There is no strict law to bind the conduct of young unmarried people of either sex, and parents are more or less indifferent on these points, according to their individual ideas of right and wrong. It is supposed that every young Dyak woman will eventually suit herself with a husband, and it is considered no disgrace to live on terms of intimacy with the youth of her fancy till she has the opportunity of selecting a suitable helpmate; and, as the unmarried ladies attach much importance to bravery, they are always desirous of securing the affections of a renowned warrior. Lax, however, as this code may appear before marriage, it would seem to be sufficiently stringent after the matrimonial tie. One wife only is allowed, and infidelity is punished

by fine on both sides — inconstancy on the part of the husband being esteemed equally bad as in the female. The breach of the marriage vows, however, appears to be infrequent, though they allow that, during the time of war more licence is given. I also understood that the Dyak women seldom allowed the approaches of foreigners, or even of Malays, but that whenever the crime of infidelity was proved, the offender was deprived of a portion of his property, and in some cases even received personal chastisement from the populace. 1845.

Upon the whole, though the standard of morality is not very high, it cannot be considered low, and, in fact, is what might be expected amongst an agricultural and warlike people; and as the women have so decided a preference for the men whose bravery and deeds of arms are notorious, it readily accounts for the mass of the populace being addicted to war. Looking, then, at the position of these uncivilised and barbarous tribes with a calm and impartial view, we can scarcely be surprised at their fondness for all warlike pursuits; and it may even be doubted whether Europeans might not be found who would take the heads of their dead enemies to gain the smiles and embraces of beauty.

Jan. 13. — I was thinking of giving here an account of the progress of my negotiation with her Majesty's government; but it will be better to wait until, one way or another, it is brought to a conclusion. It is certain, however, that the go- Jan. 13.

1845. vernment is extremely cautious, evidently neither sufficiently comprehending my reasonings, nor appreciating my motives; and having many prejudices to unlearn as to their opinion of the Malay character, which is, it must be confessed, very difficult to deal with. I proceed, however, in my course; not indifferent to their ultimate decision, dut prepared to assert my own independence whenever it becomes necessary, and to convince the negotiators that no job lurks under the surface of my propositions; that money granted by them is not my object; and that I do not wish to part with my possessions without clearly being convinced that my abdication or relinquishment of these rights tend toward the permanent good government of Sarāwak. Two things I am peculiarly on my guard against: first, I must not place myself in such a position as to shackle my freedom without *positive assurance* of increased means and power to carry out my views; secondly, I must not accept any appointment without power, for I should only in that case become an ineffective tool, and my labour, so far as advancing the interests of the country generally, would be inoperative. In one word, I must have power; and if power be not bestowed, I had better trust to myself than to the government.

If the British government refuse the most moderate propositions, the fault is not mine, and I must follow the course of circumstances, whithersoever they may lead; it may be to death. The govern-

ment seem to require a demonstration upon every problem proposed, a caution which may in itself be praiseworthy; but the question is a simple and bold one, and the problem can only be demonstrated after the result. "Here is a noble island, rich in produce; you have acquired influence, and may acquire more; will you undertake the enterprise of developing its resources?" The answer is, "What shall we get?" "You must be content to know its resources, and what you will get must depend upon your own conduct and management." "What will it cost?" "The cost depends on yourselves, or on the scale on which you act. A man-of-war will do; a man-of-war and steamer better; and two or three thousand a year in addition better still. The vessels of war cannot be said to be any extra cost, and they will be acting strictly in conformity with the general object of men-of-war: they will be repressing piracy, and forwarding geographical knowledge." "Spite of all this, you must demonstrate to us the ultimate advantage." "I must again reply, that the demonstration is yet in the bosom of time: no human event liable to a thousand contingencies is demonstrable." "The fairest prospects may be marred by an accident, by opposition, or by bad conduct of agents." "Have you positively ascertained the mineral riches of the country?" Again I reply, "That the riches of the country are ascertained, mineral and vegetable; the influence to be acquired by conduct with small means has been proved: what would you have

1845.

1845. more?" "We must know whether this coal about Borneo is workable?" "Excuse me, gentlemen," I say; "do not the general views which I have stated include coal and other minerals, and all examination hitherto has proved the coal to be of excellent quality?" I have acted, however, on the general adage, "Hope for the best!" but prepare for the worst. If left to my own resources, I must become the chief of the Dyaks, and, by my influence, prevent mischief on a large scale. A gun-boat, twelve good boats with six-pounders and musquetry, with 200 Dyak prahus, will be a formidable force against Borneo itself; and this force may be needed, if Muda Hassim is beaten in Borneo.

It requires a man of enlarged mind to confide in the generosity and disinterestedness of his fellow-mortals, and, perhaps, the very habits and experience of a minister precludes this confidence, unless he has a *very* enlarged mind; and if a man (minister or other) can read a character right, and trust it when read, he would have better service from one so trusted, than from ten half-paid, half-suspected employed officials. Self-esteem whispers that it is strange that some minister has not read my character so far only as to know that confidence alone will bind me; for I would much rather live in poverty, thrice deeply steeped, retired, and neglected, than become an official machine to work in a mill without zeal and without interest. I have been independent all my

life, and had my own way the greater part of it — never having thought of earthly mortal's smile or favour. I have never mixed with the great, to be exalted or depressed by them. I value this kind of independence, and shall preserve it; and it is doubtful whether I could now shape myself to forms and observances without self-inflicting much real and substantial suffering. Should ministers, therefore, negative my wishes, as may probably be the case, or I should break up our negotiation (as I am half-disposed to do), it will be a comfort to me, in any and all changes of fortune, to continue as independent as I now am. If I had private means, I would scarcely yield my position so easily and at so cheap a rate, for I am fully sensible of the fame of the man who should open a path through Borneo for the civilization of Europe to enter by. Patience! patience! 1845.

Jan. 17. — There came a boat from Kaluka, with pangeran Illudeen, and a gang of the rajah's people. Where can they be going? nowhere certainly but to commit mischief. I was sorry to see them. Wrote a letter to the six chiefs of Sarēbas, which, as a curiosity, I copy. Jan. 17.

"The commands of the Tuan Besar to the chiefs of Sarēbas, viz. Datu Patingi, the Datu Bandar, the Datu Isteen Rajah, the Datu Lacksamana, Panglima Rajah, and Orang Kaya Pamancha.

"The Tuan Besar desires to establish a fair trade in the Sarēbas country, and therefore orders the six Datus to inquire into and settle justly

1845. the claims of the nakodah Bujang, who complains that his goods have been seized when trading. Should this seizure have been made as a retaliation, the Tuan Besar desires that the chiefs will never allow such a plea to be used for the disturbance of trade."

This letter is carried by Lingire.

N. B. Orang Kaya Pamancha is a Dyak, and I included him, to do him honour, amongst the ministers. The story is as follows:—Nakodah Bujong, a Sarēbas man, had some Siriki men in his boat. Isteen Rajah, the minister, made a bargain for, and received the goods in question, and then refused to pay for them, stating that he had received an injury from some other Siriki people, and therefore retaliated.

Pangeran Illudeen informs me that some of the inland Dyaks have been making excursions into the interior of Igan. He, no doubt, exaggerates the evil, for he only knew of one man who had lost his life. It appears, however, that the Igan river is a large one, and runs a long way into the country, and the boundary of the Kayans and the Dyaks. In the interior the rivers of Rejang (or Seriki), Igan, Pulo Lasa (or Matta) all meet, and here is the boundary of these two distinct races of aborigines; the upper part of the streams named, being separated from that of Leret and Sakarran by a range of mountains.

Jan. 18. *Jan.* 18.—Some people informed me, that the Kayans do not make paltry excursions for the sake

of heads, as do the Sarēbas and Sakarran, but attack countries on a more extended scale. This would be easier to deal with than the sly, insidious attacks of the Dyaks. These Kayans of different tribes, it must be remembered, have never been subdued, nor have they even nominally been subject to the rajahs of Borneo. 1845.

Jan. 24. — On this day I tried a Pontiana man for theft, the punishment for which, on finding him guilty, was cutting off his hand, conformably with the Ondong Ondong, the established law of the country, to which I had bound myself in assuming my government. To this, however, I could not bring myself to consent; I therefore commuted it for three dozen lashes, laid on by the boatswain. I believe the effect will be equally good, and not so barbarous, and I will endeavour to change the law in this respect. Jan. 24.

I am at present involved in a discussion with the Chinese kunsi respecting their yearly revenue. I am insisting that it shall be paid at their new year, when it is due: they are begging for delay. It is evident, however, that they do not now hold the tone they did a year ago; their visions of power and independence have faded away, and they are become good subjects. It cannot be doubted that a kunsi, with the powers these people possess, can be of little advantage to a new country, compared with the independent working of man.

Sarāwak, Feb. 17. — This day her Majesty's ship Driver arrived, bringing Captain Bethune, Royal

1845. Navy, and my friend Wise; and it is not a little remarkable that, at the very moment in which I was ruminating upon the probable intentions of the British Government on my account, I should receive an official notification from Lord Aberdeen of my appointment as confidential agent in Borneo for her Majesty, together with instructions to proceed to Brunè, the capital, with a letter addressed to the sultan and to Muda Hassim, in reply to their application to the British Government for aid in the suppression of piracy. The appointment, however, is only temporary, and the instructions from the Foreign Office, though highly complimentary, are very guarded, it being quite evident that the Government are averse from being in any way committed by rash and hasty measures. Nothing can be farther from my wish; for if those I have proposed be not thoroughly sound and right, I would be the first to abandon them. I have this day received from Mr. Wise, the sultan of Borneo's deed, ceding to myself the district of Sarāwak in perpetuity. We sail immediately for Brunè.

Feb. 25. *Feb.* 25. *Brunè, on board H. M. S. Driver.*—On our arrival here yesterday, we found every thing in a satisfactory state. Muda Hassim was in power; Pangeran Usop friendly and quiet; Budrudeen, the director of all. They were delighted to see us, and more especially with the presents which we brought. From Budrudeen we learnt all particulars of the events that had occurred since my last visit, when

rajah Muda Hassim had been reinstated in his power and authority. The sultan, imbecile as he is, has been apparently submissive, but in his heart he is mischievous, and entertains a dread that it is Muda Hassim's intention to depose him. I have been informed, that he has addressed a private letter to Colonel Butterworth, requesting my removal from Sarāwak; but this letter has certainly never been received; and as Captain Bethune's interpreter has a very gay yellow letter, addressed to the sultan, from a Portuguese clerk in the court at Singapore, I suspect that some petty intrigue is being carried on. Pangeran Hassim has also been obedient to Muda Hassim, but he is not to be trusted, and there is, doubtless, some dealing between him and Sheriff Osman, of Malludu. Mudu Hassim has indeed maintained his authority, and Budrudeen assures me, that seven-tenths of the population are in his favour. As my mission refers more especially to piracy, I may here notice Muda Hassim's measures relative to that subject. Shortly after his arrival, he addressed a letter to the Illanuns of Tampāsuk, acquainting them with the engagement with the English to discourage and suppress piracy, advising them to desist, and ordering them not to visit Borneo, until he (Muda Hassim) was convinced that they were pirates no longer. This was fair and open conduct, but, as will hereafter appear, did not produce the desired effect upon those to whom the letter was addressed. 1845.

With reference to present politics I may remark

1845. that the sultan is weak and doubtful; pangeran Usop, clever, mercantile and adverse,—at least so I may reckon; Sheriff Osman is a pirate, positively and undoubtedly a pirate, direct and indirect. These two last are in communication with each other, but how intimately I cannot venture to say. This party in Borneo may muster, at present, four-tenths of the inhabitants, and they may gain the support of the Illanuns of Tampāsuk, and of Sheriff Osman. On the other hand is the party of Muda Hassim, with a numerous connection and six-tenths of the population. Borneo, therefore, being thus divided within itself, there is no danger of Muda Hassim's fall, for if Sheriff Osman and the other pirates were to support pangeran Usop, Sarāwak could as quickly support Muda Hassim. One circumstance is to Muda Hassim's disadvantage, namely, his being the corrective party, aiming to do good. The opposite party are evil workers, who can promise plunder as the price of success: and we all know it is much easier to do evil than good; to propel men on a wrong, than on a right course.

In this estimate I do not reckon upon English assistance, as it may be some time before the arrangements, at present in contemplation, can be brought into play; but, even with this view, I see no reason to doubt our being the most stable party. I have always urged, that, to eradicate piracy, a force must be sent to the pirate haunts, to burn and destroy their towns. Merely to cruize is to

harass your own men, and to gain but very partial and occasional success; but what pirate would venture on his evil course if his home were endangered,—if he be made to feel, in his own person, the very ills and miseries he inflicts upon others. Of course this retribution must be inflicted on all classes of pirates: on pirates direct, and pirates indirect; on the aiders and abettors, as well as the actual perpetrators; on Sheriff Osman (if it were necessary) as well as on the Illanuns; for the encouragers of theft, and the receivers of stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen, are to be punished in like manner with the thief himself. For example, as to the effect of this system: Sambas was the most piratical and most powerful place under Sultan Annas. He was the Host of numerous Illanun fleets which made Sambas their rendezvous. Sultan Annas was attacked, defeated, and deposed; the consequence of which has been, that Sambas has been a quiet place ever since. But yesterday, Sarebas and Sakarran, with their acknowledged receivers and promoters, sent out formidable pirate fleets: Keppel attacked them; Sheriff Sahib has fled, and the Dyaks are peaceable. It is true, that, to carry out this system, we must have the best information, good local knowledge, and a command of natives to act as guides and auxiliaries; moving forward pace by pace, — crushing the bad, — encouraging the well-disposed, — establishing legitimate governments, — eradicating the usurpers who have seized land without right or title. All this

1846.

1845. is easily to be accomplished, and I apprehend no obstacle to this course. To the eastward of Saluk we are, I believe, very ignorant, but we know that the inhabitants are fierce, numerous and warlike; without question the worst pirates in the Archipelago. The first step is to gain more information and acquaintance with the Illanuns, and the next, if deemed advisable, to attack them with a suitable force; but it would be a risk with a small force, on our present knowledge, to come in contact with them in their own country.

The league between Sheriff Osman and Pangeran Usop is undoubtedly of an intimate nature, and the measures taken by Muda Hassim's government for the discouragement of piracy, and his acknowledged agreement for its suppression, has tightened this offensive and defensive league. The danger to Borneo arises from his negotiation with us; for were Pangeran Usop to invite Sheriff Osman to Borneo, there is no denying, that conjointly, they would endanger the very existence of Muda Hassim and his brothers. Budrudeen seemed to consider it possible, nay, not very improbable; but, at any rate, it will take time to arrange their measures, and we must guard against them.

The rajahs of Borneo have addressed to me the following letter, in my public capacity, which I conceive will be sufficient to gain protection for Borneo, if it does not enable the authorities to act in the offensive, and at once to crush Malludu and its pirate gang.

"The Sultan Omar Ali Seffedin and the Muda Hassim have received the letter brought by our friend; and we beg to inform our friend that, in accordance with the appointment of the Queen of England, we receive our friend as her Majesty's Vakeel in Borneo. We now acquaint our friend that we adhere to our former declarations, conveyed through Captain Sir Edward Belcher; but, at the same time, we beg our friend and Captain Bethune will take measures, pending the negotiation, to protect Borneo from the pirates of Malludu, under Sheriff Osman, who is, as we are well informed, in league with some pangerans of Borneo ill-disposed to our government, in consequence of our agreement with the English, and of the measures we have taken to suppress piracy. 1845.

"We likewise, through our friend as Vakeel, beg to convey our continued assurances of friendship to the Queen of England, and to express our hope that, through her assistance, we shall be enabled to settle the government of Borneo, to suppress piracy, and to foster trade for the well-doing of both countries."

To understand the system of piracy and its several ramifications, a brief view must be taken of all the piratical tribes and places in this vicinity.

Sarēbas and Sakarran are at present quiet. I do not doubt that the Dyaks, unassisted by Malays, will soon subside into comparatively peaceable people. If, at any future time, it becomes neces-

1845. sary to punish them, it will be easily done; as the Malays, with the aid of a moderate force of Europeans, will always be glad to act against them. The most formidable pirates are the Illanuns of Magindanao. Until we get better information of the absolute haunt of these pirates, we must be content to cruize against them, both on our own grounds and, occasionally, on theirs, and not by any means to attack them on land with our inadequate force.

The Balanini inhabit a cluster of small islands somewhere in the vicinity of Saluk, and are of the Bajow, or sea-gipsy tribe — being, no doubt, originally subject to the rajahs of Saluk. At present, as far as I can learn, they are not dependent, but they are, probably, encouraged in piracy by some of the Saluk rajahs, and find in Saluk a market for their slaves and their plunder. The Balanini cruize in large prahus, often double-banked, containing seventy or eighty men; and to each large boat a long and fleet sampan (small boat) is attached, which will hold from ten to fifteen men. They seldom carry large guns like the Illanuns; but, in addition to the usual arms, *viz.*, lelahs (small brass guns), swords, spears, stones, &c., they use a long pole with a barbed iron at the end, with which, during an engagement or flight, they hook their enemies. By means of these sampans they are enabled to pursue all small boats; and they likewise disguise one or two men in various ways, whilst the rest lie hid in the bottom of the

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To face page 80. Vol. II.

R. M. del.

ILLANUN PIRATE PRAHU, OFF THE KINA-BALOW MOUNTAIN, BORNEO.

boat, and thus approach and surprise prahus at sea and people ashore. By being disguised as Chinese fishermen, they have carried off numbers of Chinese from the entrances of the Sambas and Pontiana rivers. 1845.

The cruizing grounds of these pirates are very extensive. They frequently make the circuit of Borneo, proceeding as far as the southward of Celebes, and even to Tungana, Callantan, and Patani, and of course Jillalo is within their range. It will readily be conceived how harassing to trade must be the continued cruizing of the Balanini, and more especially to Borneo Proper, which seems the chosen field of their operations. The number of Borneans yearly taken into slavery is very considerable, as a fleet of six or eight boats usually takes its station off Labuan, and blockades the city of Brunè. These pirates have a saying, "That it is difficult to catch fish, but easy to catch a Bornean;" and, on the contrary, the Borneans from being harassed by the pirates, call the easterly wind during the S. W. monsoon, "The pirate's wind." These people commence cruizing on the N. W. coast about the middle of March, returning about November.

The last of these piratical tribes of any importance, is under Sheriff Osman at Malludu Bay, who is a half-bred Arab, married to a Saluk rajah's daughter. He has no title whatever to the country he has seized, and his great object, I hear, is to possess himself by force of all the birds-nests'

1845. caves in that part of the coast, and on Palawan. The Illanuns of Tampāsuk recognise him for their own convenience, and for purposes of plunder; and he has probably at Malludu a force of a thousand or fifteen hundred men. His town is stated to be on the coast, and plenty of guides could be found in Borneo to lead a force to the attack of his strong hold.

This Sheriff has to my certain knowledge seized and sold into slavery some twenty British subjects wrecked in the ship Sultana, one of whom, an Arab, complained bitterly of the indignity offered him; stating, that he had been robbed by Osman, amongst other things, of a beautiful manuscript Koran. He concluded a long string of abuse, by calling him shaitan, or devil.

The indirect piracy of this chief is more extensive than the direct, for the Balanini, whenever they cruize, take their supplies of food, powder, guns, salt, &c., from him; and on their return, pay him at the rate of five slaves for every hundred rupees' worth of goods. The most detestable part of this traffic is, the cold-blooded re-selling of these slaves to Pangeran Usop, who demands 200 rupees, or more, from their friends in Borneo. Thus, this vile Sheriff, not reckoning the enormous price charged on his goods, in the first instance, gains 500 per cent. for every slave; and Pangeran Usop clears 100 per cent. by the flesh of his own countrymen, thus becoming, *de facto*, a party to the piracy.

I should propose at once to crush this sheriff, and as soon afterwards as possible, to attack the Balanini. These two measures, together with a little cruizing against the Illanuns, would clear the N. W. coast of pirates; and subsequently, provided the British government made a station at Labuan, it would be easy, with our advance of knowledge, to punish other pirates as they came under our notice, until the Archipelago at large was entirely cleared, and the native character, by long disuse, corrected of this too natural propensity. 1845.

March 1. — Visited Budrudeen, Muda Hassim, and the sultan, the last of whom was profuse in his expressions of regard for the English, and inquired whether, and at what time, they proposed coming to Labuan. We now distributed the presents to the sultan and chiefs, who appeared much gratified therewith, and the natives were delighted as may well be imagined.

March 2. — I learned from Pangeran Sora (an honest man for a Bornean), that since Muda Hassim's return, the poorer class had become more comfortable in the city; and Williamson heard the same from some of the poor themselves. This information is so far cheering, as it must strengthen Muda Hassim's government, and be gall and bitterness to Pangeran Usop. I attempted, likewise, to persuade Budrudeen to a reconciliation with Usop, in order to try him in the right path for once; but he assured me, that from his intimate March 2.

1845. knowledge of the man's character, he was quite certain, that no conciliation would avail, and that his absence from Borneo was indispensable. He added, however, that the rajah had tried to conciliate Usop since his return, and had bestowed several marks of distinction on him, but all in vain. Usop will have the power in his own hands, and will contest the succession to the sultanship, or be nothing. He will do this at any price, if there be but a chance of success. A word on the succession.

Borneo is, it may be said, divided into white roses and red, the Sultan representing the House of York, Muda Hassim that of Lancaster. The Sultan Omar Ali had, amongst others, two sons, viz. Mahomed Tuzudeen, and Mahomed Kanzul; the former of whom being the eldest, succeeded his father Omar Ali on the throne, and had one legitimate son, Jamalul Alum, and, amongst his illegitimate sons, Usop, our present adversary. The second brother, Mohamed Kanzul Alum, had by his first wife, Rajah Api (and Noor Alum), a daughter. By his second wife, Muda Hassim and Muda Mohamed, and by his third wife (an Illanun woman of rank), Pangeran Budrudeen, Pangeran Jelaludeen, and Pangeran Ishmael, besides which he had some dozens of illegitimate children.

The sultan, Mohamed Tuzudeen, on his son Jamalul attaining his manhood, abdicated in his favour, and at the same time Jamalul married his cousin, Noor Alum. The issue of this marriage

was the present sultan, Omar Ali Seffedin, whose father died whilst he was yet an infant. On his demise, his father, Mahomed Tuzudeen, re-ascended the throne, and reigned until his death; when he was succeeded by his brother Kanzul Alum, on whose demise his eldest son, Rajah Api, succeeded, the present Sultan being about twenty-eight years of age. Rajah Api had no legitimate children. He reigned but a short time, for, owing to his ferocious and savage disposition, his violence and cruelty, his sister, Noor Alum, who is represented as having been a clever woman, raised the suffering people against him so effectually, that he was deposed and put to death. The present sultan, Omar Ali Seffedin, then mounted the throne, and is at present without legitimate issue, Muda Hassim being, by every right of descent his successor, as his second cousin and his uncle by legitimate descent. Pangeran Usop being illegitimate, can have no claim to the throne, more especially as he is a younger son, his elder brother Pangeran Yakub being still living, but neither so clever nor so ambitious as himself. 1845.

March 3.—The object of my present mission is to make arrangements,—not committing the Government,—for the suppression of piracy and the extension of trade. Certainly the latter is dependent on the former in a very great measure, nor can we ever hope for any extension of trade whilst we allow the carrying vessels to be harassed by March 3.

1845. pirates. This is the first step towards improved commerce, and others equally necessary but of slower development, will in time be compassed. To make any formal arrangement in the shape of a treaty I consider unnecessary at present, for Muda Hassim's government being already pledged to forbear from negotiation with other powers, pending his negotiation with the English to repress piracy and to cede Labuan; and being, moreover, thoroughly well disposed and eager for the alliance, I consider any definitive treaty regarding commerce and piracy as likely to hamper Her Majesty's Government without any equivalent advantage. It must be remembered that in any arrangement or treaty made, the rajahs of Borneo, however well disposed, are without the means of doing anything independent of British assistance. The British must do every thing: therefore, when we shall exactly know what is to be done, it will be the proper time to demand what we require from Borneo. All arrangements for the suppression of piracy and the extension of commerce will fall a dead letter to the ground, unless with some sufficient force we are prepared to chastise the pirates; and, by a course of consistent measures, and by a gentle and beneficial influence with the native governments, correct the present wretched state of anarchy and confusion, give the producer some reward for his labour, and, by affording protection to life and property, opening sources of trade whereof we at present know nothing.

1845.

March 4.

March 4. — Walked with Captain Bethune and a party to the Kiangi, to inspect the coal: the distance measured is not above eight hundred yards to the first vein, which is ten feet wide, and just below the water. The spot I inspected with Adams, is about 150 yards further up the stream; above which again, we picked up some large lumps of coal, proving, that elsewhere, more is to be found.

I have daily visits from the rajah's brothers, the purport of which is, to beg to be allowed to return to Sarāwak. One or two of them I pity, and would assist; but the rest are little worth. In the evening I visited Muda Hassim, and had an opportunity of talking to him fully about his future prospects. I found him, as usual, quite prepared to take any steps recommended to him, the only danger he appears to apprehend being from Sheriff Osman.

In order to extend our commerce in these seas, and more particularly on the N. W. coast of Borneo, it is requisite, 1st. — That the sea be clear of pirates. 2nd. — That the native government should be settled, and the poorer and producing classes protected. 3rd. — That the knowledge of the interior should be extended, and our intercourse with the various tribes more frequent. That our commerce may be largely extended is so clear, that I shall not stop to detail the productions of the Island of Borneo, as it will suffice here to

1845. state generally, that all authorities agree in representing it as one of the richest portions of the globe, and its climate, soil, mineral and vegetable productions, inferior to those of no other country whatsoever. It appears, therefore, that materials for an extensive and extended trade exist, and only require development; and that a numerous population of Kayans, in the interior, are at present debarred from all intercourse, from the badness of Malay governments, and their jealous monopoly of the mouths of the various rivers. I need say nothing further, for it is a duty which every civilized government owes society, to annihilate piracy at any cost; and in the Archipelago, should a considerable force in future be necessary to punish the Illanuns, and the islanders of their vicinity, we might act as vigorously with the Dutch, whose interest, like our own, is involved in this question.

A port like Labuan and Balambangan would, beyond doubt, give an impetus to trade, merely from the freedom from all restrictions which the natives would enjoy; and piracy being *checked*, the countries which now lie fallow would, from their proximity, be induced to bring their produce into market. This limited extension is of little moment compared with the results which must attend our using a beneficial influence over the native governments, for the purposes of affording protection to the poorer classes, insuring safety to the trader, and, without any guarantee, holding out a

fair prospect of success to the planter or the miner. 1845.
The slightest acquaintance with the N. W. coast of Borneo would prove to any observer, the ease with which these objects might be effected. The native governments are every where fallen to decay, and the capital of Borneo requires protection and assistance.

I am firmly of opinion, that if Labuan be taken possession of, European capital might with safety be employed in the city of Borneo, whether for the procuring of coal, or any other speculation; it being, of course, understood that the speculator should pay to the Bornean Government a fair sum, for the exclusive, or general privilege of working the mineral. By the occupation of this island, the English influence over the Government of Borneo would be complete. We must maintain this ascendency by a favourable prestige, as long as possible, if not by fear. Our position at Labuan, it must be borne in mind, will be different from the position we occupied in relation to the native princes in Singapore. In the latter case the princes were ruined, without means, without followers, and, with a paltry and useless territory, they became our pensioners. In the case of Labuan, we shall have an acknowledged independent state in our vicinity; and, for the prosperity of our settlement, we must maintain our ascendency to support the government of Muda Hassim and the sultan. Let our influence be of the mildest kind, let us, whilst we uphold the legitimate rule by this influence,

1845. ameliorate the condition of the native population; let us pay every proper honour to the native princes, convincing them of our entire freedom from all selfish views of territorial aggrandisement on the main land, and we shall enjoy so entire a confidence, that virtually the coast will be ours without the trouble and expense of possession. I have impressed it on Pangeran Muda Hassim, and Budrudeen, that the readiest and most direct way of obtaining revenue from their various possessions, will be by commuting all their demands for a stated yearly sum of money from each. Reckoning the sums so demanded at the very lowest rate (Sarēbas and Sakarran excepted, on account of their unsettled state), the amount received from the various rivers between Tanjong Datu and Tanjong Barram, would be ten thousand dollars. By this means the legitimate governments would become the protectors, rather than the oppressors of their dependencies, and insure them from the exactions of the worthless pangerans, who now devour them; and, as these dependencies become flourishing, the revenues of the rajahs would increase. By this means, likewise, a tone would be given to the native mind; the people at large would, on the payment of a specific sum, have a right to resist any extra demands, and the very exercise of this right would strengthen their minds and teach them the first rudiments of freedom.

If Labuan were English, if Muda Hassim's

government were established firmly, there is no reason why these measures should not be commenced at once; and I am assured we shall have the hearty co-operation of the Bornean government. Since the advent of Europeans in the Archipelago, the tendency of the Polynesian governments has been to decay. Here the experiment may be fairly tried, on the smallest scale of expense, whether a beneficial European influence may not reanimate a falling state, and at the same time extend our own commerce. We are here devoid of the stimulus which has urged us on to conquest in India. We take a small station near an un-warlike and friendly people, and we aim at the development of native countries, through native agency. If this tendency to decay and extinction be inevitable, if this approximation of European policy to native government should be unable to arrest the fall of the Bornean dynasty, yet we shall retrieve a people, already habituated to European habits and manners, industrious interior races; and, if it became necessary, a colony gradually formed, and ready to our hand in a rich and fertile country. We shall have a post, in time of war, highly advantageous, as commanding a favourable position relative to China. We shall extend our commerce; we shall suppress piracy, and prevent the present and the prospective advantages from falling into other hands. Nor will the expense of doing all this be great. 1845.

I own that this developement of the natives

1845. through their own exertions, is a *hobby of mine:* if it succeed, it would be nobly done,—a pure spot in the troubled ocean of colonial politics; but if it fail, and fail it may, we shall have little to reproach ourselves with; for it may truly be affirmed, that under no circumstances could the condition of the north-west coast be worse than it was four years ago.

A word now on Sarāwak.

My experience there certainly justifies the views I have taken relative to the other rivers. Perhaps four years ago, no country could be more wretched or more oppressed, whereas, now, it is the happiest and most flourishing province in Borneo. The Dyaks are an industrious race, and as they increase and multiply, I see no reason to doubt, that Sarāwak will become a considerable rice producing country. Other points may yield profits, but European capital will be requisite for a full development of the resources. Whether the possession of Labuan, and the general adoption of measures for the extension of trade, as I have mentioned, will give sufficient security to capitalists to embark at Sarāwak, is doubtful. It may probably do so, but at any rate, if the people be happy, I may fairly calculate, that time and good government will have their full effect, and that the fruit, gradually ripened, will be preferable to any of hot-house growth.

In thus running over the heads of the subject, I have not alluded to any distant countries. We

must know them first: we must be intimate and cultivate an English party, but the same policy that has succeeded in Borneo must succeed elsewhere, if pursued with temper and patience. The general principle ought to be, to foster and encourage old established governments, such as Borneo and Saluk, provided they will in sincerity abandon piracy and assist in its suppression; but at the same time, by watchful supervision, to convince ourselves of the fact, and keep them in the right path; for all treaties with these native states (and we have had many) are but so much waste paper, unless we see them carried into execution. Any state distinctly fostering and harbouring pirates should be punished, and all new authorities, sheriffs, and the like, who have seized territories and formed a nucleus for piracy thereon, should at once be attacked and expelled. 1845.

March 5. — More searching for coal, but unsuccessful, though there is no doubt it is to be found on other spots. March 5.

Received intelligence from Malludu: Sheriff Osman has fortified himself, and is prepared to resist the threatened attack of the English; and report further states, that if the British squadron do not attack him, he will, at all events, assault Brunè for having entered into a treaty with us. Throwing aside all speculative points, our first endeavour must be to crush the Sheriff, or at any rate to protect the capital.

I learned, likewise, that last year, when we

1845. passed in the Samārang and Phlegethon, three pirate prahus saw us, as they lay concealed under Pulo Gaya; this proves, that merely passing along the coast is of no use, and that, to act efficiently against pirate prahus, we must poke into every nook and corner.

I have only now to mention the third means for the extension of commerce. Our intercourse with the natives of the interior should be frequent and intimate. These people are represented as numerous, hospitable and industrious; and a friendly intercourse would develop the resources of the interior, draw its produce to our markets, gradually tend to the enlightenment of the wild tribes, and check their propensity for war. This intercourse, however, must be carefully and prudently introduced, and gradually advanced, until those wild tribes are conversant, in some degree, with European manners and habits, for to bring them suddenly into contact with the ordinary run of ignorant and violent Europeans, would produce bloodshed in a month.

Nothing is more difficult, nothing requires more temper, more prudence, or more patience, than establishing and maintaining a good understanding between *ignorant civilized men and ignorant savages.* In the case of Borneo, however, it is by no means necessary, that these two classes should, for a long time to come, be in contact, as they are in New Zealand. There is little danger that the natives will wither before the approach of the white man.

Here, we want not their land, but their produce; and we desire to become their benefactors by ever so slow and gradual means. Surely it is possible that the Europeans can, for once, benefit the natives; surely it is possible, that a limited intercourse may be mutually advantageous. 1845

March 10. *Labuan.*—We left Brunè, and crossed over to this anchorage. On the 7th, Budrudeen accompanied us to the Moarra, and took leave of us with regret. March 10.

Captain Mundy's Narrative.

Mr. Brooke's Journal is silent as to his proceedings between the above date (the 10th of March) and the 21st of May, when he again returned to Brunè. I gather, however, from his private letters to England at this period, that after remaining a few days at Labuàn, he returned to Sarāwak, and, finding all going on well in that quarter, proceeded to Singapore, for the purpose of consulting the Commander-in-chief, and of laying before him the lamentable state of the northern coast of Borneo, in consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by the pirate chief of Malludu, Sheriff Osman; who had threatened, with an overwhelming force to attack Brunè, for having entered into a treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of piracy and slavery.

Mr. Brooke remained a fortnight at Singapore, and

1845. then returned to Brunè, touching again at Sarāwak on his way; and it will be seen by the extracts which now follow from his own Journal, that Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane notified his intention of visiting the Borneo coast with his squadron whenever his other duties would permit; a resolution which, considering the dangerous nature of the coast, in its then unsurveyed state, bespoke at once the nerve and character of our Commander-in-chief.

May 21. Mr. Brooke's Journal.

May 21. *Brunè.* — Just returned to this city, in the Phlegethon steamer, from Singapore, where I had made a longer stay than I had either wished or intended.

Whilst at Singapore, I had several interviews with Sir Thomas Cochrane, the result of which leaves no doubt in my mind that he will attack Malludu, provided we return to Singapore in time to meet him. In Borneo I find every thing retrograding. For two years our supporters have been living upon hope. They see us come and go without any good resulting, without receiving any assurance of a speedy conclusion to our negotiation. We neither support their government, nor do we attack the pirates, who threaten the very existence of Borneo, defying the power of the

British. Is it, then, surprising, that our party hesitates, trembles, and doubts our ability or our will to assist them? Is it surprising that Pangeran Usop disbelieves our power to support, and is enabled to shake the public mind? Is it surprising that Sheriff Osman laughs at our beards, and defies us? Will it be surprising if he attacks, and, with Usop's aid, takes Brunè? Yet how deep will be the shame and the disgrace! Budrudeen says he knows not the day when his own life and the rajah's may not be sacrificed. I tremble with inward rage; it preys upon my mind, it affects my body, it paralyses my energy, to be the tool and the participator of such mistaken policy. Delay is our ruin; no one has got a single discretionary power to act, to protect, or to save. Add to all, we are put into an inefficient steamer, manned with a weak crew of wretched blacks, and obliged to crawl from place to place, with intervals of ten or twelve days, for wood-cutting at each place; and which vessel would certainly fall a prey to a fleet of Illanuns should she chance to meet them, for of her crew there are not five men who have ever seen a large gun fired. During our absence, the American frigate, Constitution, touched here, and in an interview with the sultan and rajahs, its commander requested a treaty of alliance between the United States and Borneo, the articles of which were as follows: — 1845.

1st. Protection to the Brunè government; —

1845. 2nd. The sole right of working coal to Americans; — 3rd. A monopoly of the trade. This is the native account. The third article is probably exaggerated, or misunderstood. Had it been a common right of trade with other nations, no objections could have been made to the proposal. The Americans act, while the English are deliberating about straws.

Aug. 8. *August* 8, 1845. — Entrance of Borneo river.

I am now anchored off Borneo Proper with seven vessels, and an eighth is hourly expected. Our friends, of course, are delighted. Sir Thomas Cochrane is inclined to act (God bless him), and considers the circumstance of pangeran Usop's detaining two British subjects after the agreement entered into with Sir Edward Belcher, as sufficient warrant for punishing that gentleman. I think so too, but then comes the difficulty of doing it effectually, and in such a way as not to involve others for his crimes; but this is not easy, because the admiral can stay but a few days, and though he has power to destroy, he cannot advance the general good and the general policy without pacifying and encouraging, as well as destroying. To seize Usop is difficult; to frighten him away very easy: but when we have retired, the demon returns with other demons. The snake is scotched, but not destroyed. It is not easy with such a force to be moderate, and with Sir Thomas Cochrane's other duties and engagements, it is probably impossible for him to devote any length of time to this coast:

yet moderation and time are the keystone of our policy; and if Malludu be destroyed, and a brig left here to support our friends, and to drive Usop away should he attempt to return, we could afford to be moderate, and not to spill blood. I feel myself very reluctant to accede to any propositions which aim at Usop's death, and I will try to save him in the coming events, unless I be thoroughly satisfied that his living endangers the life of Budrudeen. 1845.

Sir Thomas seems inclined to severe measures, but he is so reasonable and willing to listen, that I hope for the best. If the meeting to-morrow with the sultan be judiciously and skilfully conducted, no doubt all will be well.

August 9.—The interview. The three steamers and a large body of seamen and marines proceeded up the river to the city; on approaching which, Muda Hassim met the admiral, and entered his barge. The sultan received him at the shore. The three chiefs advanced to the hall of audience where, seated on the dais, the admiral being in the centre, they proceeded to the business of the day; compliments were passed, and fine speeches made on both sides, the admiral assuring the sultan that he had come to offer him every assistance to suppress his piratical enemies without, and to punish any turbulent men who in Brunè troubled his government. The sultan was much obliged, looked pallid, and trembled. Then came the crash of the band, the rattling of the marines' arms; the Aug. 9.

1845. rise, the embrace, the descent, and the return to the Pluto. What touched my heart at the close of the audience was pangeran Usop seizing my hand from behind. Poor devil, I pity him; but measures must advance, and he has deserved his fate, whatever it may be.

The admiral took this occasion to demand reparation for the seizure and confinement of two British subjects, contrary to the sultan's agreement with the British Government. The sultan's reply was evasive and timid, laying the blame upon Usop, and expressing his willingness that the admiral should punish him. His Highness, however, consented to this step with reluctance, from fear of Usop, who, well informed, gathered together his followers, and prepared his guns, but what can he do, opposed to three steamers. Between ten and eleven, being at the rajah's, we received information that it was probable or possible that Usop would attack during the night. Incredulous myself, I thought it right, however, to let the admiral know, and our party at the embassy, viz. Captains Talbot of H. M. S. Vestal, and Bethune. Williamson and myself were reinforced by a small party of marines and a boat's crew. Having seen the admiral, and arranged that whatever might occur, no firing was to take place, I returned to rest, and, throwing myself on my mat, soon fell into a sound sleep, after a day divided between ceremonials and business, which mingled, like two liquids, the lighter floating at the top.

1845.

August 11. — Usop has fled, having sustained in his house several shots from the Vixen. Twenty guns have been taken and presented to the sultan and rajah by the admiral, who retained two for the purpose of remunerating the British detenus. Aug. 11.

August 12. — This morning I visited the sultan in company with Muda Hassim, and tried to soothe his mind, and at the same time to show him, that his best and only course is to hold by his treaty with us, and to work with Muda Hassim and Budrudeen. He is, however, such an imbecile, it is impossible to make more than a momentary impression upon him. My apprehensions for the state of Borneo, on the admiral's departure, were eased by Budrudeen telling me, that Usop had already been endeavouring to open negotiations with him. I advised, strongly, that they should attempt a sincere reconciliation with him, or at any rate patch up a truce. It is the only course for us to follow, but again and again I deplore, that the protection of a brig is not, or cannot, be given. Aug. 12.

August 20. — Yesterday Sheriff Osman was attacked at Malludu; his strong fort captured and himself defeated, with great loss, and driven into the hills by Captain Talbot, of the Vestal. Aug. 20.

August 31. — Started for Brunè, and on my way received the news, that two days after Sir Thomas Cochrane's departure from the city, pangeran Usop had attacked it in force, but had been defeated by Budrudeen, who pursued him into the country, and Aug. 31.

1845. to Barăkas, Usop's own residence, whence the pusillanimous chief fled, leaving his women, children, treasure, and all his property in the hands of his victors.

Thus is Brunè all our own: thus is the worthiest party firmly established in the saddle. Their rival is stripped of wealth and home, and a fugitive; his women and children remaining prisoners and hostages; and his own life in the utmost peril: thus is our good fortune secured in the best possible manner by the exertions of the natives themselves, with Budrudeen as their leader. My mind is now at rest about the fate of my friends, but I still consider a man-of-war brig, making her appearance here every month or two, of great importance, for it will be necessary, for the next six months, to consolidate the power of Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, and if, with the new order of things, the people constantly see white faces, and find that they are quiet and inoffensive, that ignorant terror which now prevails will gradually vanish away.

Amongst the prisoners taken at Barăkas was the daughter of pangeran Usop, the wife of pangeran Hassim, the nominal son of the sultan, — who is altogether an imbecile. This lady, with some others, was sent to the sultan's house, being placed under his care, as being nearly related to him; and Budrudeen, with a generosity worthy of the imitation and admiration of Europeans and Christians, not only spared the personal property of the women, but divided amongst them the gold and

ornaments taken from pangeran Usop. The sultan having charge of these poor creatures, and finding that they were possessed of some property, was seized with his usual desire of appropriating it to himself, so, partly by fraud, and partly by force, he had, upon our arrival, made himself master of all the women had in the world, and was subsequently loud in his own praise for giving them food and clothing. 1845.

I have long known this man to be unfit to reign, for truly, as the Singapore Free Press remarked, "He has the head of an idiot, and the heart of a pirate;" but his time draws to a close, and from the first, I have never lost sight of the advisability of deposing him, and substituting Muda Hassim in his place. The time, however, is not yet ripe. Brunè requires repose, and there are, or may be, prejudices and objections to the step in England. However, some day, if events follow their present course, he will cease to be sultan.

September 3.—I have only to mention, that before my departure from Brunè, after a most unpleasant stay of three days, I proposed to Budrudeen to allow me to buy the life revenue of Sarāwak for 7000 dollars, and the rajah being one year in advance, makes the sum 8000 dollars. I do this, not only that I may advantage and ease my own affairs, but to give them such a sum as will help to consolidate their power; for in Borneo, 7000 dollars, well laid out by a great man in authority, would yield large returns, and they might live on Sept. 3.

1845. this money whilst some arrangements were made for the payment of their revenue from their numerous possessions. Thus, it appears, the arrangement would assist both parties, at least I know it would benefit me, and I think that I have merited this, or any other favour at their hands.

To-morrow I sail for Sarāwak, where, I trust, I may enjoy, a month or two's repose.

CHAP. XXIII.

RETURN TO SARAWAK.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE DYAK POPULATION.—THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—CURIOUS CEREMONY.—DANCES.—CARES OF GOVERNMENT.—TREATY WITH BANDAR CASSIM.—SARĒBAS AND SAKARRAN PIRACIES.—ROBBERY OF ONE OF THE ENGLISH HOUSES.—QUARRELS AMONG THE SAKARRANS.—INTERVIEW WITH ABANG KAPI.—BAD STATE OF NATIVE GOVERNMENT.—SCARCITY OF RICE.—INCREASING TRADE.—CHARACTER OF DER MAKOTA.—INTERVIEW WITH THIS CHIEF.—CONTRACT BETWEEN MUDA HASSIM AND THE CHINESE.—INFLUENCE OF THE CELESTIALS IN THE ISLAND.—ARRIVAL OF THE "JULIA" FROM SINGAPORE.—COMPLETION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE LINGA CHIEFS.—POLITICS OF THE PIRATES.—FUTURE REGENERATION OF THE LAND.—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PIRATES.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION.—ARRIVAL OF STRANGERS.—A GENTLEMAN FOND OF POULTRY.—VISIT FROM A DISGUISED PRINCE.—BEAUTIFUL PLANT.

1845. Sept. 29.

I RESUME my Journals at Sarāwak on Monday the 29th of September, 1845. Bethune, my excellent colleague, has departed, and I am once more living quietly alone in my mansion, and daily dispensing arrears of justice, which had accumulated during my wanderings. The confidence of the natives in me personally is astonishing, and in truth it renders it a question in my own mind how far wise and politic it will be to remove myself from hence.

I find the Dyaks tractable and quiet, and daily improving in prosperity, and I have lately had much further opportunity of noting down their

1845. various customs, most of which are harmless and inoffensive, though ridiculous and absurd. White cloth, I find, is a mark of cold weather or prosperity. The killing of the fowl after waving it above the paddy (rice in husk), and the rice measures; the mixing of the blood with kuning, a yellow root, and water; and immersing the women's necklaces, and then waving them over their heads; touching the heads of the children with the charmed mixture, I have, I think, glanced at before. When I seat myself on the mat, one by one they come forward, and tie little bells on my arm; a young cocoa-nut is brought, into which I am requested to spit. The white fowl is presented. I rise and wave it, and say,—"May good luck attend the Dyaks; may their crops be plentiful; may their fruits ripen in due season; may male children be born; may rice be stored in their houses; may wild hogs be killed in the jungle; may they have Sijok Dingin or cold weather."

This exhortation over the dance begins; men and women advance, take my hand, stroke their own faces, utter a wild, indescribable shriek, and begin a slow and monotonous twisting wriggling movement, with arms extended, the measure being occasionally somewhat faster when the old ladies feel inclined to indulge in a jump. When this occurs the music gradually becomes more furious and the dance proportionately animated; then may be seen a shy boy or girl stealthily mixing in the crowd, and perhaps some proud mamma will bring

her little child of six or seven, and put her into the circle, and the tiny creature will move her tiny hands in unison to the music. At Rapang on my late excursion, the wife of the Orang Kaya, who was very pretty, and danced exceedingly well, insisted upon exhibiting herself before Bethune and myself, and by this little piece of vanity greatly disturbed the economy of the dance. This being observed and complained of by the other performers, the Head Man (at once the chief and the master of the ceremonies) said in a loud tone, addressing her by name:—"Why don't you dance fair? There you are dancing before the Great Man, and the Great Man can see no one but you." 1845.

Besides the above-named customs of these interesting tribes, they wash my hands and my feet, and afterwards with the water sprinkle their houses and gardens. Then the gold dust, with the white cloth which accompanies it, both of which have been presented by me, is planted in the field. The white cloth, I may remark, is always inseparable from the rice measure, as, being the emblem of cold weather, it is supposed to be exerting its cooling influence.

Sept. 30.—The cares of office are upon me; from far and near the rulers of the various rivers are come, or are coming, to meet me, to explain, to request, to inquire. Sept. 30.

Bandar Cassim has visited me three successive days; he is a weak man, not over honest, and with just brains enough to do mischief, and get himself into trouble, without deriving any advantage from

1845. his roguery. His principal grievance arises from a dispute with pangeran Paduka (who rules at Balei Karangan) on the subject of trade, and who has dispatched an envoy with orders to refer the matter for my arbitration.

I have now drawn out an agreement which seems to give satisfaction to both parties. It is to the effect that Bandar Cassim shall permit the egress and ingress of trade free of all duty for two years through Sadong, after which the duties shall be remodelled with the sanction of the sultan.

2dly.—That all disputes and recriminations on the subject of Dyaks shall be dropped by both parties, each retaining the Dyaks he at present has, and each agreeing to look forward, and not back.

3dly.—That in all trade passing and repassing, porterage of the goods shall be fairly remunerated.

To-day Bandar Cassim returns to his own country, after having received an intimation from me, that he must not interfere with the Dyaks of Tumma or Simankau, who, having formerly fled from Sadong, are now on my territory. Last night Abang Kapi arrived from Sakarran with several Dyaks. He was opposed to us in the time of Sherriff Sahib, when the gallant Dido's crew were engaged; but, from all I learn, he is now true and well inclined. The two worst governed rivers are Sarēbas and Linga, the latter under Indra Lela and Laksimana, both great rascals. The last performance of these worthies was to delay or detain people bearing letters from Santang, and to possess themselves of their goods on the stale plan of buying

and not paying; a convenient and easy way for the ruler of a country to obtain property before his character be known. I wait till the termination of the fast before I send to Mr. Lela. Had I but a small steamer, I could pounce at once on these gentry, who seemed resolved to arrest the growing commerce of the peaceful rivers. 1845.

October 1.—Last night a robbery occurred at our old house on the property of the Klings, who suffered in the fire which took place during my absence; as, however, these goods were exposed in an open verandah, and left unguarded, the temptation was great, and it ought to prove a warning to the owners of movable property to take common precautions for its security. It appears that the barking of the Doctor's dog disturbed the thieves, as the greater part of the bundles of the goods stolen was left behind. Petty thefts are, however, on the increase, and this may be expected from the great increase of the population, and the consequent difficulty of discovery. I have had a long interview with Abang Kapi, from Sakarran. The news from thence is, that some Dyaks of Rŭntūss quarrelled about a piece of ground with some others belonging to Gasĭn. A fight ensued, in which one man on either side was killed, and several wounded. A convocation of chiefs was assembled to decide on the case, and it judged Rŭntūss' party to pay five jars, and Gasĭn's party to pay four jars; the former, thus adjudged to be in the wrong, was fined one jar, valued at sixty rupees. Oct. 1.

The news from Sakarran otherwise was good

1845. and the chiefs of the Dyaks request Williamson or Sherriff Houssein may be allowed to come to Abang Kapi's, when a general conference might be held, and all the ceremonies gone through attendant on a lasting peace. The points I have mentioned to Abang Kapi are: —

1st. To demand from the Dyaks the expulsion of the three sheriffs from their river who have been hostile to trade.

2nd. To build a fort to appease the apprehension of the Dyaks of the enemy's attacking them.

3rd. To inform the Dyaks of Undop that I have heard of their piratical excursion, with forty-seven war-prahus, to the river Batang Lupar, and that, if they again mustered such a fleet, I would attack them.

Oct. 13. *Oct.* 13. — A week has now passed since I sent Williamson to Sadong, believing that his presence would give confidence both to the Malays and the Dyaks of that place, for the government is a mere cripple, afraid to do *right.*

Indra Lela, Lela Patawan, and Lela Wamksa arrived again to-day from Linga. Their government is even in a worse state than that of Sadong. With them came a messenger from Santang; he was the bearer of a despatch from Badin Soria and pangeran Kirning, which contained a request, that I would furnish them with forty pickuls (5320 lb.) of fine English powder, fifteen cases of muskets, and other articles, to the value of five or six thousand dollars, but in what coin, or at what period, the money was to be forthcoming did not

appear in the document. When I confronted the confidential agent, and interrogated him on this important point, he met my remarks with perfect composure, assuring me that the chief object of his mission was to open a safe road from the interior, when he would return and bring the gold to pay for the articles demanded. Having intimated to him, that the present state of the country did not admit of any mercantile transactions on so extensive a scale, and that I must have ocular proof of a better state of things before I could comply with any requests of such a nature. I brought him into the presence of the Linga deputation, and *ordered* that the Undop Dyaks on our side, and the Buyow Dyaks on the side of Santang, should instantly make peace. I shall now make out an agreement between the parties for the future management of the trade, on the same plan as with Sadong and Sangow. 1845.

October 17. — I regret to hear that rice, the staple commodity of life in the interior, is getting dear. This must be owing to the large exports, amounting to nearly five hundred tons. The harvest of last year was not a good one, yet our own Dyaks have a sufficiency of food, and most of the Malays likewise; the people who suffer are the workmen, men on daily wages, who cannot lay in a store when rice is cheap. Oct. 17.

A few will suffer, yet is it not strange that here, in a country where the people were gaunt with famine two and three years ago, they are now exporting the product of the land by tons?

1845. In Sarāwak, if the Dyaks were in one degree more civilised, and opened their stores, reserving only sufficient for their own consumption — five hundred tons more would not exhaust their heaps. What a granary this island of Borneo, or rather this line of coast, might become! During the last six months upwards of *one hundred trading* vessels have entered the river. Eighteen months ago it was a rare event to register *one single boat* in the course of a month.

My friend, the excellent, the candid, the amiable Der Makota, arrived a few days ago. I knew he was under authority to enact some dark intrigue, some scheme of villany—yet I feared him not. On the contrary, I gave him fair words, though I knew him to be a dissembler and a swindler—a man whose very nature was intrigue; one who would try the cunning of his right hand against the jugglery of his left, provided no one else could be found on whom he might exercise this hateful propensity; yet, withal, he is not a dangerous man—he is a very coward—with wit to ruin his own country — but whether sufficient to save his own head, remains yet a question. I waited patiently till the gentleman should open his business, feeling, as before a thunder-storm, that a shower of intrigue was about to fall on my devoted head. I was so far kind, that I told him that his wisest course was to hasten to Brunè, where pangeran Mumin was anxious to see him, and Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, willing to make by-gones by-gones. In vain did he at-

1845.

tempt by honeyed words to assure me of his anxiety to follow my advice. His down-cast look and tremulous action betrayed the real workings of the spirit within, and I knew that, whilst professing his fixed intention of returning forthwith to his native city, such a proceeding was the furthest from his thoughts, at the moment he expressed it. Then came the cream of the story. Owing to unforeseen disasters, over which he had no control, his finances had latterly been seriously disordered—he wished to borrow two thousand reals. I replied, that I did not lend money. "Would I spare him only one thousand?" "Impossible." "One hundred?" "No." "Fifty?" "No." "Five?" "No—not one farthing." Seeing me resolute, he departed, and at last succeeded in obtaining three reals from Rupell, which were given to him from very shame sake. In my opinion, the three reals are badly laid out, nevertheless.

Der Makota* then attempted to refer to old stories of former debts, in the days of the native rulers, which had never been settled, and was entering at large into the details of these supposed claims on the public purse of the province, when I found it necessary to finish the discussion at once, by declaring that, even if his statistics were true, the

* It may not be out of place to mention here, that this very man, Der Makota, whose real character has been so graphically described, was the individual selected by the sultan, three months afterwards, to kill Mr. Brooke, either by treachery or poison, as shown by the deposition made by Jaffer, a native of Brunè, before the resident councillor at Singapore.—EDITOR.

1845. subsequent war had wiped off all. After the termination of the civil war, the rajah Muda Hassim made a ruinous bargain with the Chinese to allow them, on the payment of a yearly revenue of one real a man, to work gold at their pleasure. As the contract was fairly made, I felt bound, in all honour and fairness, to hold by it, though, from the fact of the sovereignty having subsequently passed into my own hands, I might probably, with some show of reason, have proclaimed my intention of modifying the arrangements previously made. These Chinese, in their *very* short-sighted policy, have themselves abrogated the contract by a breach of its stipulations, and I am right glad they have done so. In vain have I asked them for revenue. They promise, and perform not. They have fair words, but evil thoughts — the pensieri stretti — for they imagine, if, by paying revenue, they give an impression of their success in procuring gold ore, that I shall demand more and more.

By the last agreement entered into on the fifth of February, it was stipulated that the tax should be paid for 200 men in five months, though I felt convinced that the "Celestials" amounted in reality to double that number. Eight months have now passed; the same evasive answers to my demand for the payment continue to be given, and it is evident they imagine that I am not sufficiently firm in my government to enforce the settlement of this branch of the public revenue. The dreamers! I shall now call these gentlemen before me, and quietly explain that such dishonourable conduct

cannot be tolerated, and that I shall consider a non- 1845.
compliance on their part with the terms of the agreement as most justly annulling the contract itself. I do not mean to quarrel with them, whilst at the same time I take advantage of their roguery to free the country from so injurious a bargain. Doubtless, these Chinese will chuckle at the idea of paying nothing for the gold ore already extracted, and will try yet further their artful cunning. I must also endeavour to assume the "volto sciolto" with the pensieri stretti; but when I find myself a little better in the saddle, I shall most decidedly apply the spur, and make them pay a proper amount for their high privilege. If they still resist, I must then resort to extreme measures, which to me are always disagreeable. I must resume the land, and give it to true and honest men.

The Chinese in this country seem to be the dregs of the human race. Falsehood is ever on their lips. When detected in villany they think it no shame; crime is no disgrace, and successful imposture a virtue. I have long discovered that with these people no plan of collecting revenue is so bad as reckoning by heads. When the census is to be taken, half the families disappear. They retreat to the jungle, play at hide and seek, and invariably succeed in giving in their number at one-half of the truth.

October 23.—The Julia has arrived from Sin- Oct. 23.
gapore laden with goods for our rising market.

1845. We are full of business and bustle. I have finished matters with the Linga Chiefs. I have compelled them to return three jars to a Santang Dyak, which they had forcibly taken from him with the usual promise of future payment, and I have also made them repay thirty reals which they had under similar pretences *borrowed* from some Sibuyow Dyaks.

Oct. 24. *Oct.* 24.—Several arrivals to-day of chiefs from the distant rivers. Gave audience to Abang Gani from Kaluka, the Samarahan Pangava, and the Datu of Sarēbas.

At last I have made myself to a certain extent master of the politics of this piratical quarter, and I think I may yet be able to induce some portion of the better class to relinquish their warlike pursuits, and to join our *growing* party. My hopes have been ever turned to the belief that, by patience and perseverance, the best part of the population might eventually declare themselves for us, and so neutralize the mischief that the evil-disposed may still continue to inflict on those immediately around them. Since Keppel's campaign, now more than fifteen months ago, the river Sarēbas has been ruled (as of yore) by a Patingi, Bandar, and Laksimana; and under these is Lela Wangsa, with another person of influence, named Abang Mansur. The principal Dyaks are the Orang Kaya Pamancha, Balan, and Lingire. Of the Malays the Bandar and Laksimana abide near the mouth of the Rembas, and these chiefs are our

1845.

friends, and moderately respectable. The influential Pamancha and Lingire agree tolerably with these, and all have a glimmering of the benefit of regular commerce. This is my party—a party in favour, or at any rate not opposed to, a gradual reformation.

Let me now describe the other party—the determined opponents of every pacific policy, and the open advocates of violence and robbery. It consists of Datu Patingi, who resides at Boling on the main river. He is described as a weak and wicked man, who listens to the advice of Wangsa and Abang Mansur, and shares with them their ill-gotten spoils. These three men are known throughout their district as vicious and unprincipled, and are in alliance with Bulan the chief of the Liăr. Every species of villany is practised by these worthies on all persons they can get within their clutches. Traders who have ventured to resort to these villages lose their property under all sorts of pretences, and if importunate in demanding their own, they lose their lives through the agency of Bulan and his Dyaks. Three instances of the kind have lately been reported to me:—One party of merchants to whom Wangsa was largely indebted, was suddenly attacked on his wharf, and put to death. Abang Mansur disposed of another party of four, whose claims were inconvenient; and a third party was attacked, and after the loss of one or two, the remainder were too glad to escape and abandon their debt. These atrocious Malay

1845. rulers urge on the Dyaks to these attacks, and the Dyaks, so commanded, have no objection to a business which procures them the possession of a large stock of heads. The only surprising part of the thing is, that traders should of their own free will place themselves within the grasp of such monsters in spite of all warning on the subject; but the spirit of gain is paramount, and I greatly fear that more extensive and oft-repeated failures and yet further loss of property and life must ensue before so ruinous a trade is altogether abandoned; but that day must arrive, and the Lela Wangsa and Mansur will rue the hour in which they killed the goose with the golden egg. I feel that it is my duty to punish these persons at once, and I would do so had I the means, and would drive them entirely from the frontier; but at present I am hampered, and I must trust the Laksimana, Pamancha, and Lingire to prevent as much mischief as they can, and for this purpose I have furnished them with a letter calling upon all good men to support them, and to live at Tambak, under the penalty of my displeasure, and of future punishment if they cast their lot with the evil-doer. I really hope to form a nucleus of good out of my present materials, which may ere long extend over the five rivers.

If the British Government would allow me to hoist a flag at Sarāwak with the British Union cantoned in it, we should then have the protection I require, and quite sufficient to induce

moderate capitalists to embark in the field, whether in mining, planting, or trading. I am quite opposed to any rash scheme which would put money into my own pockets, and leaving neither honour nor character behind, ruin the country I am so anxious to civilize, and turn out a bubble. A small company and moderate capital are enough at first, and from small beginnings we should so gradually advance, that at length a vast country, whose resources are incalculable, would be surely developed; but your vast schemes backed by millions never did, and never will, open a new country properly. The one is a natural growth from the tender seedling to the noble monarch of the forest; the other the forced plant of the hot-house, the Prophet's gourd running up to the sky, but withering as fast as it grew. 1845.

Thus far had I written and had laid down my pen to indulge in meditation over my dreams for the future regeneration of the land, when I was reminded of its being the time to cross the river to the court-house. Speedily taking boat, I gained the wharf, and there I met Si Lingi, who had just arrived in hot haste from Sakarran, and was the bearer of a letter for me from Abang Kapi.

The contents were important. I have already mentioned that I ordered the Dyaks to turn three sheriffs out of their river, whose piratical habits were incorrigible; and it appears that at a council convened by all the chief men of that district, it was resolved, that my instructions should immediately

1845. be carried out. The three sheriffs, however, had, by the treachery of two Malays, received information of what was going forward, and hastily collecting a fleet of prahus, were preparing to resist.

Lingi and a few Malays started from Sakarran the day before yesterday, and pulling night and day, arrived here at noon. To oppose this piratical excursion and to enforce my orders, the Balows have collected their people at Linga, and to-morrow night I shall send off five boats from Sarāwak to reinforce them, and with the prahus of the Laksimana and Lingire they will form a junction, and if practicable, push on at once for Sakarran and strike the pirates there.

Our force will probably amount to twenty Balow Dyak boats and six Malay boats well armed, whilst the adversary has only fifteen boats, manned by compulsion, with mixed Dyaks. The force of these mixed Dyaks is in itself contemptible, and would probably be able to do but little mischief; but the effect upon the other Dyaks of different tribes would be very injurious should the evil-disposed escape with impunity, wherefore I act against them with vigour and celerity. On the other hand, it is most gratifying to see that most of them are true to me and to their word. Sakarran and Sarēbas are now as houses divided amongst themselves, and I shall soon ascertain who are really my friends. There is a just plea for punishing the people of Liăr and Sakarran who are raising this pirate fleet. The death-warrant of

Dyak piracy must be signed, or commerce can never assume a steady character. I have written two letters—one to Abang Kapi, and the other to the Linga chiefs. They will be conveyed by Si Lingi this night, and contain the promise of a reinforcement from Sarāwak in a couple of days, together with my approval of their intention of acting vigorously against the three sheriffs. 1845.

Oct. 25. — Yesterday was a day of bustle and confusion, launching boats, collecting men, and distributing arms and ammunition. I found out with regret that our chiefs had allowed their war-boats to rot, as they had depended on the services of our ships of war; therefore on this occasion we could not turn out more than ten boats, three only of moderate size. Without my interposition I believe they would never have been ready; but by great exertion I managed to start them all by ten at night, just before which time the Orang Kaya of Lundu arrived from the interior, and having volunteered to accompany the expedition, forthwith proceeded with the party. I trust it may turn out well; that we may destroy the evil influence at work at Sakarran, and establish a party there which, if it cannot prevent piracy, will always inform us when a fleet is collecting. Rupell and myself are now left tête-à-tête, a wonderful circumstance at Sarāwak. The country is still and business stiller—all thoughts turned to the result of the expedition. Oct. 25.

Sunday, Oct. 26.—The last fortnight has witnessed Oct. 26.

1845. a wonderful improvement in my time of rising. Soon after daylight I may be seen roaming about the premises, then reading till breakfast-hour. This is a day of repose, and to me how welcome.

About mid-day a messenger arrived from Sheriff Jaffer, bringing the offering of a kid, in return for which I sent him six bundles of tea. He had heard of the movements at Sakarran, and was much alarmed. News has reached me of our fleet being out of the river and steering together to the eastward.

I am very confident, yet at particular moments a qualm comes over me. I half wish that I had gone myself, in spite of my opinion that I ought not to be there. The old game is playing—the quiet part of the community is in terror—a big gun has been heard—I assure them that it is a ghost, or the working of their own imagination, and so allay their apprehensions.

We have another importation of strangers; no less than thirty families have sought my protection, flying from Pontiana, whither they had arrived from Santang, and thence here by sea. One of their boats is of the largest class, and has been bought by the Tumangong, at which I am rejoiced. We must really set to work and build half a dozen first-rate war boats, our own navy, in these piping times of peace, having been allowed to go to pieces.

Oct. 27. *Oct.* 27.—Last night a wild hog broke through the fence which protects my poultry from the denizens of the jungle, and carried off the flower

of my lately imported flock of geese. Confound his appetite. This morning Nakoda Duroup arrived from a trading voyage to Singapore and Tringani, and I am sorry to hear that he has not succeeded in obtaining a return cargo of sufficient value to repay his enterprising attempt. Shortly afterwards, the Young Queen also anchored off my jetty, and her captain tells me she is for sale. She is not pretty, and is otherwise an unlucky craft. She is the little schooner which fought her way out of the Coti River on the southern coast of Borneo, in Mr. Murray's unfortunate expedition, he being himself killed on board. 1845.

At breakfast a young prince in disguise paid me a visit, to request I would lend him money, which he would repay from the revenue of his country.

The story was not new and rather lame, so I made him a low bow, and walked him out of the room, believing that both the country and the revenue are the creations of a fertile imagination.

There would, however, have been some little romance in the adventure, had not the disguised prince been a particularly ill-looking vagabond, and unable to sustain the part he had taken.

The Young Queen, on taking up her moorings, honoured me with a royal salute. My fort could not return it, as all the cartridges had been in requisition to supply ammunition to the expeditionary squadron.

November 2.— The Young Queen departed on the 30th, and I am again almost alone. Reports Nov. 2.

1845. are rife of battles fought and won, sometimes by one party, and then by the other; but these rumours trouble me not. With moderate prudence those whom I have entrusted with the management of the operations will conduct it so as to insure future advantages in furtherance of the great object of trade, if their success is not at once complete and the wicked sheriffs overthrown.

Last evening I received from a native a lovely creeper, in full blossom of abundant clusters of red and yellow flowers. This would be a prize indeed in England; but to secure its transit across half the globe is beyond the limits of hope.

CHAP. XXIV.

STATE OF PROVISIONS IN THE INTERIOR. — CONDITION OF THE SARAMBO TRIBE. — THE TUMANGONG'S PROFESSIONS. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE BALOW AND SARĀWAK SQUADRONS. — ENCOUNTER WITH THE PIRATES. — CAPTURE OF THEIR FLEET. — REPENTANCE AND DEATH OF SI GĪLA. — CURIOUS SUPERSTITION OF THE SEA DYAKS. — CAPTURE OF A MURDERER. — INTELLIGENCE FROM SAKARRAN. — SICKNESS OF MR. BROOKE. — NATIVE MODE OF WARFARE. — CATCH A CROCODILE. — METHOD OF SEIZING IT. — DISCUSSION AS TO ITS DISPOSAL. — PLUNDER OF A SAGO BOAT. — NEWS OF PANGERAN USOP'S DEATH. — PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT BRUNÈ. — ARRIVAL OF EMIGRANTS FROM SAMBAS. — ANOTHER INFLUX OF STRANGERS. — GROWING PROSPERITY OF SARĀWAK. — FOREIGN RELATIONS. — VALUE OF DETACHED STATIONS.

1845.
Nov. 3.

November 3.—I HAVE been engaged in an inquiry as to the state of provisions in the interior. I much regret to hear that the Balows and Sibuyows are this year badly off for rice, in consequence of the Sakarran war, and the change of residence forced upon the latter tribe. These poor people come in small parties to borrow a little money, and show great caution in doing so, always asking when and how it is to be repaid, and whether any interest is to be charged. The distress, however, is not pinching, for the men do not seem in bad condition, or reduced by want of food; very unlike the positive famine which had crushed the hill Dyaks when I first received this government, with its charges and responsibility.

1845. The dreadfully emaciated forms, the sunken eye, and distended stomach, spoke of extreme want and of misery in too legible characters.

It is now consolatory to think that in three months the harvest will be ripe, until which period I must relieve the tribes to the best of my power.

I have also received an account from Lama of the bad condition of the Sarambo tribe, which it appears is internally disorganised, disobedient to its chief, and some members of which rob and plunder their own people. The thieves have been discovered, tried, and condemned to pay a fine. They set the law at defiance, refuse to return the stolen goods, and appeal to the decision of the sword. All parties now express their anxiety to wait for my opinion, and they declare themselves willing to send proper persons to arrange the settlement of their disputes.

These unsought applications are of great importance. By a judicious interference in their internal affairs a great influence is obtained, and a prospect opened of improving their condition; I must, however, wait for more certain information, and must consult Datu Patingi, who holds Sarambo under me.

The old Tumangong amused me by many professions of his devotion and entire good faith; but it is difficult to make an honest man of him in his old age, or to expect he will walk straight. I cannot allow him to interfere and disturb the sea-

coast; but I shall ask the rajah Muda Hassim to put the Milikin Dyaks under his charge, and observe how he manages them. They are a branch of the Sibuyows, originally discarded from the interior of Santang. 1845.

This shows how circumstances scatter the tribes; and in their present rude state the memory of their former locality is quickly lost, and their traditions end after their customs have been abolished.

Nov. 7.—Our fleet returned in safety, and amidst the great rejoicings of the people, last evening, after an absence of thirteen days. I may briefly describe the proceedings, which have not been without interest to the whole of our community. Nov. 7.

Having left Sarāwak, as before described, on the 24th ultimo, they arrived at Banting, in the river Linga, on the 27th. Here information was received from the Balow Dyaks, that they had attacked and defeated the pirate fleet of eighteen boats, averaging a crew of thirty men each, with their own fleet of only fifteen boats. The pirate fleet was commanded by the sheriffs Amal Long, Abu Bakar, and the notorious Api Bragă of Sakarran, and was anchored in the small river of Samong.

The Balows came suddenly upon them, beating their gongs and tatawals and firing their lelas, which manœuvre was completely successful, as the pirates imagined that the whole Sarāwak force was in the offing, and immediately deserted their boats,

1845. and fled into the jungle. They were pursued by the Balows, who killed five of them, and amongst the rest their chief, Api Bragă.

The whole fleet, with the property, arms, and ammunition, were captured, and the Balows returned in triumph to Bantong. The united force of these Dyaks and the Sarāwak squadron now amounted to forty-five prahus, and the following day they proceeded up to Sakarran, where they met Abang Kapi, the Malay ruler of my appointment, and the Dyak chiefs of note, and entered into a friendly compact with them for the general suppression of piracy. Gasin, who is the most powerful man in Sakarran, went higher up the river in chase of the sheriffs, who had fled in this direction, but the rascals had crossed the country to Sarēbas, with their wives and families, and are now with the Panglima Rajah.

Thus a pirate fleet, the chiefs of which boasted openly of the mischief they intended to do, was dispersed and captured, with the loss of the Dyak leader, owing to timely information brought down by Si Lingi, a countryman of their own, but opposed to a continuance of piracy. I believe we have now secured a well-disposed party, who will always give me notice of any assembly of war-prahus for piratical purposes. Had Lingi not been our friend, the Balows would have suffered very severely, as they were scattered at their farms before the junction of the force from Sarāwak; confidence would have been shaken and punish-

ment difficult, whereas the happy result of the combined movements of our allies has greatly strengthened the party favourable to good government. 1845.

I was anxious to have made prisoners of the sheriffs, for with them lay the principal guilt and blame; and I fear they will never be reclaimed. There was also another chief, named Si Gila (or Madman), one of the most desperate of these sea-robbers. He fell sick after the capture of the fleet, and, feeling that his end was near, sent for his sons and followers, confessed that he had acted wickedly in making war against Gasin and Abong Kapi, and recommended them to send in their submission, and live honestly in their own river. Two days afterwards Si Gila died, leaving a bright example to Dyaks of future generations. This sudden change so bewildered the natives, that they declared I had bedeviled him with charms unknown in their country. There is a curious superstition amongst these sea Dyaks, which I may mention here. It is very similar to that which obtains in a district of Celebes. Their doctor, or magician, or both combined, is a man set apart for that office, who is thereafter considered as a woman. *She*, or *he*, marries a husband, adopts children, dresses as a female, and lives amongst the women, performing the domestic duties peculiar to the sex. The principal occupation is curing people by divers charms, driving away the devil and evil spirits. It must be allowed that the

1845. whole constitution of this office is an example of gross superstition; but the ceremonies attendant on it are in themselves inoffensive. A branch of a tree is fixed on the house; around it white cloth is wrapped, and near this spot the spathe of the betel or areca tree is placed (the spathe being indispensable); then the people assemble, and with unseemly noises, rattling shells and beating gongs, proclaim their joy and satisfaction. The office itself is called "Manang," and as no particular age is specified, the "Manang" being young or old, as chance may determine. The present occupier of this important post became so when quite a child, and he is now well stricken in years, and much respected by his tribe. There is decidedly something unpleasant to European ideas in the marriage of man with man, though I believe it to be solely an absurd superstition. Nevertheless, the custom is not a good one, and is quite unknown amongst the hill Dyaks.

The Orang Kaya Tumangong who accompanied the expedition to Sakarran has brought in a Dyak, named Marass, who will be immediately put upon his trial for murder. The depositions are before me, and the story as follows:—Two Dyaks of Sitakow, by name Marass and Siru, had been hired by a Chinaman to accompany him on a trading voyage up the Sarāwak river to Signong, a large Dyak tribe in the interior. These Dyaks belonged to the Sambas government, their locality being inland near the Lundu river. They proceeded as

far as the landing-place of Tubbia, where they stopped, and where Marass (dressed as a Malay) became acquainted with a young woman of the Tubbia tribe in whose company he remained till the following morning, when the Chinaman and his Dyak boatmen continued their voyage up the river. 1845.

On arriving at Signong, the two Dyaks, Marass, and Siru, were discharged, and they immediately returned to Tubbia where the former renewed his intercourse with the young woman, and subsequently came to the determination of cutting her throat, and possessing himself of her head. Twice he was deterred from the murderous act by the interposition of his brother Dyak, but the third time he succeeded in slaying his victim, and immediately fled with his prize to his own home accompanied by Siru.

The tribes were not enemies, and if the history be true, the murder was a most cold-blooded and brutal act. Had he been on a war path and taken the head of an enemy, though that enemy were a woman, he, as a Dyak according to the Dyak code of morality, incurred no guilt; but, on the contrary, if he tempted and deceived this woman and treacherously murdered her even as a Dyak, he would be considered guilty amongst Dyaks. A murder committed by a demi-savage, or rather the circumstances attendant on it, require the deepest consideration, and the clearest evidence must be produced of guilt before such a man should be

1845. condemned. The prolonged life of a savage is not incompatible with the security of the community if those around him really believe that he will never commit another murder; and it should always be clearly ascertained how far the Dyak himself believed he was committing a crime. Spare life if possible, and endeavour to teach a higher morality; but justice must have its course, and it will be my duty to see that this wretch is fairly tried.

Nov. 20. *Nov.* 20.—Our latest intelligence from Sakarran is good, but the three sheriffs still remain at Sarēbas where they are protected by the Panglima rajah. The Balows have requested my permission to proceed by land and attack them in their place of retreat. This I have refused, but have sanctioned a recommencement of hostilities if the sheriffs return to interfere with the new government now established. Several of the friendly chiefs have taken oath that they will never permit piratical excursions to be made from the districts over which they rule, and hogs have been killed to make the vow binding. Many others promise to visit me here shortly, and to cement the good understanding which is gradually rising between Sarāwak and the distant rivers.

Nov. 21. *Nov.* 21.—At last I am visited by sickness, and am confined to the house; it is accompanied by great lassitude. Various members of our circle are absent in the interior, either for amusement or information, and are living amongst the wildest tribes in perfect security.

1845.
Nov. 22.

Nov. 22.—I have bad accounts of Patingi Abdulraman, of Siriki. His government, compared with that of his predecessor, was tolerable, but of late he has shown an inclination to join with the evil disposed of Sakarran and Sarēbas; and he allows their boats an outlet through his rivers to pirate upon the high seas; he has lately gone even beyond this acquiescence and connivance at piracy by sending his own Dyaks (the Kanōwit tribe) to attack a quiet village at the entrance of the Palo. In this attack he was successful, and the people were carried into captivity. Siriki is a Malay government, and, being situated on the banks of a navigable river, is accessible at any moment.

I must institute immediate inquiry as to the truth of these statements, and act, if necessary, or these fresh enemies to commerce and civilisation will destroy the labour of years. The mode of attack adopted by the Kanōwits shows the system of warfare of these barbarians. The first house attacked was of the largest size, built on piles. A body of four hundred men approached — no arms were used, not a spear was thrown, or an arrow shot; but the Dyaks, covered with their shields, crouching along the ground, slowly marched under the house, and commenced cutting and burning the posts. The defenders, about fifty in number, with their wives and children cast down between the crevices of the bamboo floor, every implement they could collect, together with boiling water, but in vain. Their fate slowly, but surely approached.

1845. The fire and the steel did their work. The besiegers retreated. The house fell with a dreadful crash, and ten men were killed, and fifteen women and children captured, the remnant escaping into the jungle.

Nov. 25. *Nov.* 25. — The Chief of Palo is here, and confirms the history detailed above. He assures me that Patingi Abdulraman and Sheriff Sakàrran are allied, and send out the Dyaks to pirate at sea.

Palo is more than a hundred miles from hence, yet its head man, persecuted and trampled on by a stronger tribe, finds his way to Sarāwak to seek for counsel, and to implore my protection. I must, however, be patient before acting, so far as it is possible. I always assure myself of facts. If necessary, the patingi himself, and all the old government officers shall be deposed; for, from the weakness of the central government at Brunè, these people consider themselves almost independent, and carry on a predatory war without reference to superior authority.

A male crocodile was caught this morning, measuring fifteen feet four inches in length; and it is astonishing how quiescent these animals are when taken, allowing their feet to be fastened over their back, and a strong lashing put round the mouth without any resistance, and then brought down, floated between two small canoes. When dragged out of the water to be killed, the monster only moved his tail gently backwards and forwards. Yet when hungry, it is evident that he would attack both men and boats, for the bones of a poor fellow

were found in his stomach. It is probable that these cold-blooded reptiles digest their food very slowly, and that one meal, which is a gorge, lasts them for some time, as is the case with the larger serpents; otherwise, if, like the dragon of old, he required a man or maid for breakfast, the demand would be a heavy drain on a small population. The thigh and leg bones of the Malay were perfect, and the feet had some portion of the flesh adhering to them, and were crushed into a roundish form, whilst the head was found separated at the joinings or processes. The poor man's jacket and trowsers were also found, which enabled the relatives to recognise his remains, and, from his having been a fisherman, it was probable that he was attacked whilst occupied with his lines. A Dyak of Sarambo, who was with him, must have been carried off at the same time. 1845.

The mode of taking the crocodile is curious. A monkey or a cat is attached to a stick as a bait, which the monster sucks down lengthways, and when the strain comes on, this gets across his throat. To the stick is attached by a cord a long rattan (cane), which floats on the surface of the water, and which the animal attempts to get rid of. In the vicinity of this floating bait, a dog is confined on a stage, beyond the crocodile's reach, in which miserable position it is not surprising that he should howl somewhat lustily. The crocodile, attracted by this noise, approaches the spot with great caution, and the natives state that, if he encountered any

1845. resistance when taking the bait, he would immediately retire without making a second attempt. When, however, he has swallowed it, which he does slowly, as he never suddenly tears the bait, he carries it to the shore, and it is sometimes two or three days before the long rattan is found, as he frequently takes it some distance, and secretes himself amongst the bushes and weeds of a small creek. Rather an amusing discussion arose amongst the natives as to the proper course of dealing with our captive monster, and as the question appeared to create considerable interest and much harmless fun, I encouraged them in the important debate.

One party maintained that it was proper to bestow all praise and honour on the kingly brute, as he was himself a rajah amongst animals, and was now brought here to meet the rajah; in short, that praise and flattery were agreeable to him, and would induce him to behave genteelly in my presence. The other party said, that it was very true that, on this occasion, rajah met rajah, but that the consequence of honouring and praising a captured crocodile would be, that the crocodile community at large would become vain and unmanageable, and after hearing of the triumphant progress of their friend and relative, would take to the same courses with double industry, and every one eat his man for the sake of obtaining the like fame.

Having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, taking also into deep consideration the injury which so unwieldy a captive might do in roaming

over my garden and grounds, followed by a host of admirers, I decided that he should be instantly killed without honours. He was despatched accordingly at the common landing-place on the opposite side of the river, his head severed from the trunk, and the body left exposed as a warning to all other crocodiles that may inhabit these waters. 1845.

Nov. 26. — A Nakoda of Brunè, wrecked a few days ago at Sirhassan has arrived. His boat, laden with a rich cargo of sago, was pillaged by the natives. It will be a heavy loss to him, but I shall demand restitution from the Sirhassan authorities. Nov. 26.

This Nakoda also brings intelligence of the death of pangeran Usop and his brother pangeran Yakub, the rebel princes, who it may be remembered, about four months ago, after the departure of the English squadron from Brunè, suddenly attacked the capital, and were defeated by the forces under Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, and driven across the mountains. The government of Brunè have certainly strengthened their position by the execution of these restless and bloodthirsty pangerans, whose lives had been one scene of strife and ambition, and whose attempts to overthrow the sultan, and place themselves on the throne, kept the better disposed classes in constant apprehension; whilst the worst portion of the community had an unfailing source for intrigue and false reports, by which the whole frame-work of society was unhinged and disturbed.

The pretensions of either party to the throne

1845. were ill-founded, and the hostility of Usop to Muda Hassim scarcely disguised, nor did he ever lose an occasion of showing a contempt for his authority. To him nothing was a crime, and he was ever ready to strike as opportunities offered.

The late arrangements made under the auspices of Sir Thomas Cochrane for the suppression of piracy and Christian slavery were odious to Usop and his party, and his retention of the two slaves received from the great pirate-chief of Malludu, in defiance of the orders of Muda Hassim, and his agreement with the Commander-in-Chief, showed that he knew no law but his own ungovernable will. Every effort was made by the rajah to conciliate and bring him over to the side of order, but in vain. After the departure of the squadron, he refused to accept the pardon for which he had previously asked, and which Muda Hassim had granted; and when defeated by Budrudeen, he fled to Kimanis, a hundred miles distant; but being pursued by his conqueror, he was captured and finally executed.

Budrudeen now stands undisputed, de facto ruler of Brunè. The sultan is a mere cypher, without authority, and without will; incapable of appreciating the value of a good minister; and indifferent as to what his character may be, he eats, drinks, cheats; and with the head of a fool, possesses the heart of a pirate; whilst his natural roguery is checked by his timidity. No reliance can be placed upon his word, for he is a tool in the hands of the evil disposed around him, and would,

at any time, play the part of a villain, if it were not for the fear of the punishment it might draw down upon him. A prince less good by nature than Muda Hàssim would curb the dangerous power which the possession of the throne necessarily gives, and a great blessing it would be to the country; but there is no probability of any thing of the sort being done, and his highness will be allowed to spin out the thread of his base existence and continue his miserable intrigues. 1845.

Last night I met a brother of the chief of Sarēbas, and some other Dyaks of that tribe, and questioned them on their business. They said they came for trade, but I believe they are desirous of examining into the state of our little community here, and to make a report to the Orang Kaya, before he comes himself to meet me. They nibble and nibble at the bait of better government, and perhaps I shall catch them at last. A China boat has arrived, with thirty emigrants from Sambas, who ask permission to settle here. Captain Singsong, the owner, reports, that he has a secret for turning antimony ore into silver. I think I see through the cunning of this celestial. Does he not aim at manufacturing bad money? Forewarned, however, is to be forearmed. Two years ago I should have been glad of this small influx of Chinese, but with extended experience, I by no means desire an increase of Chinese population, without the means of ruling them with a rod of iron, for they are a people devoid of every feeling

1845. either of principle or of gratitude. Besides this arrival no less than forty families have also come in from Pontiana. They are Malays, formerly of Pomertan, and after wandering about in every direction and being every where persecuted, at length seek an asylum here. They shall find it. The rumour of there being one small spot of land, and that spot Sarāwak, where the miserable and destitute of every race would find permission to live in peace had reached these poor people when far distant in the interior, and after much perseverance and weary travelling they gained the sea coast, and succeeded in finding their way to the mouth of the river.

Nov. 27. *Nov.* 27.—Another large importation of strangers. Forty-eight persons in two boats, five only being men, the remainder women and children of all ages. They complain of starvation, and apply to me for relief. The women state that their husbands are at Sarēbas with another boat, endeavouring to procure rice, as they had formerly belonged to that country, and fought under the orders of the great pirate chief, Sheriff Sahib. When he was defeated in Keppel's campaign, these families endured the greatest distress. They wandered to and fro, and sold their gold ornaments and other articles to buy food, and now they have discovered that here they may dwell in safety. It is the same story over again, and I must do what I can for them, and so I have told them, and sent them away happier.

Captain Singsong visited me this morning with his smooth tongue and oily words. He spoke of thousands of Chinese ready to flock to the colony at my bidding, but not a word more of turning antimony into silver. I have very bad accounts of the Dyaks of the Rejang, who are sent out by Abdulraman to pirate on the seas. The villages on the coast are harassed by continual attacks. Some time ago I wrote to this chief, and quietly, yet firmly, pointed out to him the folly of his proceedings, and warned him to bear in mind the fate of Sheriff Sahib. In spite of this remonstrance he has again collected the Kanōwit Dyaks, has fitted out a fleet which has been seen off Cape Datu, and, which consequently must have passed by the entrance of the Sarāwak river, forming a junction with some boats from the other streams. Really these gentlemen seem determined to rush headlong to destruction, and will yet oblige me to teach them that two can play at the dangerous game of war. 1845.

Dec. 12.—More than a fortnight has elapsed since I have been able to write in my journal. I have been incessantly employed in arrangements for my large increase of population. Every thing in and about Sarāwak is prospering, and contentment, happiness, and plenty appear to reign in the province; but I cannot speak so well of our foreign relations. Certain intelligence has been received that the three sheriffs already so often alluded to have again taken up their quarters in the Moarra

1845. Sakarran, and intend to settle there. They must be out of their senses; but this step will bring things to a crisis, and we shall be able to crush these vipers. A sharp stringent policy is required to correct the evil propensities of Sakarran and Sarēbas. They must be again attacked and be taught by a strong hand to feel that their piratical habits will never again be tolerated or permitted, and that the sole advantages which a country derives from commerce, is not the ministration to their own greediness and rapacity.

The Orang Kaya Pomancha, of Sarēbas, is now with me—the dreaded and the brave, as he is termed by the natives. He is small, plain-looking, and old, with his left arm disabled, and his body scarred with spear wounds. I do not dislike the look of him, and of all the chiefs of that river I believe he is the most honest, and steers his course straight enough. He asked my permission to attack the Undop Dyaks. I replied that, if he did, I would assuredly attack Sarēbas, for on what account should he act hostilely against these people. Yet this barefaced application to carry destruction amongst an unoffending people is nothing compared to the want of faith, the treachery, the deceit, and intrigues of the Malays. I am most anxious that all classes, and every province and district, should reap the advantages of my pacific policy and steady progress towards the development of the country; yet how can it be accomplished, unless I succeed in training them to peaceful habits,

and can give them some sort of government which shall correct by degrees the native character. It is absolutely necessary to punish as well as foster—to make myself feared as well as loved. I was accidentally reading Blackwood to-day, and I mark down the following passage from an article on Ethiopia, which is applicable to this part of the world:— 1845.

"Insignificant stations on the coast to carry on a peddling traffic are beneath a manly and comprehensive policy. We must penetrate the mountains, ascend the rivers, and reach the seats of sovereignty. We must, by a large but generous self-interest, combine the good, the knowledge, and the virtue of the population with our own; and we must lay the foundations of our permanent influence over this fourth of the globe by showing that we are the fittest to communicate the benefits and establish the example of civilized society."

CHAP. XXV.

NEW YEAR'S DAY. — NEWS OF A FORMIDABLE FLEET OF PIRATES. — CHANGE IN THE ASPECT OF AFFAIRS. — SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY. — ARRIVAL OF THE HAZARD. — NEWS FROM BRUNÈ. — MASSACRE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY. — GUILT OF THE SULTAN. — PROBABLE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. — THE BRUNÈ RIVER FORTIFIED. — CRUIZE IN THE PHLEGETHON. — MR. BROOKE'S REFLECTIONS ON THE MASSACRE AT BRUNÈ. — CONCLUSION OF MR. BROOKE'S JOURNAL. — CAPTAIN MUNDY'S REMARKS.

1846. Jan. 1. *January* 1. 1846. — THE new year came in merrily, and was hailed by English voices and English hearts; ay, and by English songs and English toasts, and earnest were the wishes from all of us that we might meet here again on each succeeding new year.

Then the middle of the day was welcomed with as showy and as curious a regatta as could be found or heard of in the annals of any land. Flags waved, banners floated to the breeze, and happy faces beamed with delight, whilst the swarthy sons of Sarāwak (as a novel writer would express himself) contended for prizes in solid rupees. Never were boat races better contested, never did a people enjoy themselves more or behave better, and what we may have lacked in wit and polish, we made up for in merriment and laughter.

The New-year of Old England will, I trust,

henceforward be a day of rejoicing in Sarāwak,—a festival to which the natives of every class may look forward with a happy feeling,—a small link in the chain of associations with which I wish to bind them to my mode of government. Yet how different is the New-year here from that of the land of my birth. Old England! dreary and chill is the season with you. In vain you deck the mansions of the rich or the hamlets of the poor with green leaves and red holly berries! In vain you endeavour to call forth the heart-felt burst of real enjoyment, or to bring out the cheerful expression and smiling look! The season in itself is melancholy and cold; the elements are against you. The harsh, biting frost nips the half-starved cottager, and cramps the energies of the mass of the populace, and in vain you talk of blazing hearths except for the palace and the dwellings of the wealthy. Here the sun brightly shines,—here is genial warmth and perpetual verdure. Are we not then to be envied? I should answer—Yes. And such, I believe, would be the answer from the poor and the houseless of each wintry land; for this is the country for the destitute and forlorn: this is the country for the tender and delicate. Such may not be the opinion of the rich and the powerful, who, in the cheerful glow of the blazing fire, know not the miseries of the wintry blast; but for myself, rather let me bask in the sunshine of a tropical clime, than suffer the pinching frost of my own dear native land, which,

1846.

1846. though I love it well with all its faults, and it has many, has few more unconquerable than its cheerless climate.

March 1. *March* 1.—In the midst of the general prosperity and increasing happiness of the tribes within the territory of Sarāwak, I have suddenly received information that the Sakarran Dyaks have again been at sea with a force of seventy prahus, and not less than 1200 men, perpetrating many ravages, burning villages, carrying off the women and children into slavery, and laying waste the country, wherever their arms could reach.

This is truly heart-rending. It was not to be expected, that the single attack made on this river by Keppel should totally eradicate, from amongst a numerous and warlike population, the deep-rooted and often-indulged habit of piracy; and although a slight advance has been made in detaching some of their chiefs from this evil course, I find that measures of kindness and conciliation are entirely thrown away, and that it will be necessary to give these pirates another severe lesson, and to convince them that their haunts in the Sakarran river cannot protect them from my own native fleet, when supported by the boats of the vessels of war on the station.

I feel perfectly convinced that, if these people be permitted to commit piracy with impunity, other communities, now checked, will speedily join them, and that in a few years they will become dangerous, not only to the coasts of Borneo, but to the shores

of more distant settlements. If these warlike tribes shall ever get accustomed to the use of fire-arms, they will at once become a most formidable piratical force. How necessary is it, then, to inflict one or two severe lessons upon these constant disturbers of the public peace, and subsequently a moderate supervision of the conduct of the rulers of the Sakarran, Sarēbas, and Siriki would probably ere long totally suppress piracy along the northern coast. 1846.

According to the latest intelligence, these Sakarran pirates have selected a position, two or three miles above the place where Keppel stopped, and are said to have made every preparation for defence ashore and afloat; their war prahus are to be preceded by fire rafts, which the strong current is to carry down upon our boats, and a general attack upon our force is to be made during the confusion.

Captain Rodney Mundy is, at present, senior officer in the straits, and had intended to visit Sarāwak in the course of this month, but I now hear, with great regret, that the disposition made by the admiral, in consequence of the war in India, will inevitably cause him to postpone his visit.

Whenever he does appear, there will be work for the ship, and I have no doubt that the Captain of the Iris will teach these gentry what it is to face the boats of the frigate. I have already ascertained that, by making a flank movement up one of the small streams from the main river, we shall reach

1846. a position in rear of the pirates' defences, and that, after a short march across the country, we shall be able to attack them from a quarter they little expected.

Thus, in the midst of my peaceful avocations, am I obliged, once again, to turn my thoughts to the horrors of war. What a train of reflection does not this necessity lead to! Am I, then, really *fond* of war? This is a question which I ask myself. And I answer — "Certainly" — for what man is not? And, indeed, what else makes among my countrymen so many sailors and soldiers? But if I ask myself whether I am *too fond* of war (meaning thereby that I would sacrifice justice to gratify my pugnacious propensity), then my conscience and my entire conduct through life make me boldly reply with a magnificent "No," for I truly feel that I am entitled to give this answer.

There seems to me to be a contradictory sort of sentiment pervading a portion of the English public, which it is difficult to comprehend. They particularly desire to suppress piracy, but, when active and intelligible means are put in operation to effect this purpose, they are horrified at the possibility of coercive measures being employed. What do they expect? Do they really imagine that piracy is to be suppressed by argument or preaching? Do they propose to appeal to the tender feelings of these head takers? Is it by mild morality, moral maxims, Harvey's Meditations, mesmeric influence,

a problem of Euclid, or Aristotle's Logic that they would overcome the difficulty and gain the desirable object of opening these waters to the peaceful trader? For my own part, I am anxious and ready to listen patiently to any well-digested plan, but at the same time, I confess myself at a loss to discover any remedy for the deadly evil but the one which I have as yet successfully applied. Should there, however, be, in modern philosophy, any patent process for the prevention of piracy, I should be glad to be made acquainted, as soon as possible, with its virtues and mode of application; though I very much doubt, whether on the first experiment of its efficacy, more innocent lives will not be sacrificed than guilty ones have been lost in the course of all our warlike measures on the coast of Borneo; but, in sober truth, nothing but hard knocks can convert these pirates into honest people, and if the punishment of rogues is due to the better part of the community, the punishment of these piratical haunts is equally due to the peaceful inhabitants of numerous other rivers. Often do I reflect on what would be my position were I to adopt a doubtful line of policy. What would be the result? Why, that whilst I was preaching honesty to pirates, I should find the well-disposed, and most numerous body of the inhabitants, laughing at my imbecility, or doubting the honesty of my intentions; and I should lose their confidence in the endeavour to perform the Herculean task of convincing people of the wickedness of a course of

1846.

1846. life to which they have been led from earliest youth, and which they believe to be most conducive to their own self-interest. Away, then, with this false refinement, — this impracticable mode of action. It is a delusion. The desire of universal philanthropy may be boundless, but it behoves us who are the practical workers of systems to be careful that we do not fall into the serious error of sacrificing the good in our efforts to convert the bad. It is our duty to try every thing by the hard reality. If we form the resolution of suppressing piracy, we must make up our minds to punish pirates. We must make a broad distinction between piracy and no piracy. We must take care of our honest friends, and prove to them, the advantages of honesty. We must leave an opening for amendment, and trust (whenever it is possible to adopt such a course) to the promises of reformation made by the pirate communities; but when once these promises are duly understood, we must inflict punishment for every breach of them, and for every species of piracy, and we ought to act with a perseverance and a rapidity which would take away their breath. This has ever been my plan to the extent of my limited means, and by this course I have been able so to divide these pirate communities, that the converted portion might rule, or at any rate might greatly influence those who have been wavering or may have continued dishonest. If the government require my opinion, they may have it unreservedly. I should say, — act with vigour, —

act because it is *right* to act. Do not for a moment draw back in alarm at the shadows of possible contingencies; and, judging the future by the past, I will venture to declare, that no very distant date would witness the extinction of piracy in this part of the Eastern world. 1846.

April 1. — The arrival of the "Hazard" two days ago, has brought me intelligence of a most melancholy catastrophe which has occurred in the city of Brunè. The exact date of this atrocious act I know not, but it took place either in December, last year, or in January of this year. I have had most heartrending details from one of the personal and favourite servants of the pangeran Budrudeen, by name, Jaffer, who fled from the city by order of the pangeran Muda, one of the surviving brothers of the rajah Muda Hassim, and took refuge on board her Majesty's ship. April 1.

It appears, that the sultan, Omar Ali, after appointing the rajah Muda Hassim his successor, under the title of sultan Muda, resolved upon cutting off the whole family, on account of their fidelity to the engagements entered into with her Majesty's government, which atrocious intention his highness was enabled to carry into effect on his faithful and virtuous relatives, owing to a large number of the pangerans and chief men of Brunè being still favourable to the piratical party.

It is impossible for me to transcribe the indignation which I feel at this almost unheard of butchery of every member of the royal family known to be

1846. well-inclined to the British policy. This infamous act has sealed the most flagrant breach of treaty entered into with her Majesty's government with the blood of the sultan's nearest relatives, and his highness has now openly declared, that he is prepared to fire upon the British flag whenever it shall appear near the defences which he is erecting.

Had this dreadful event arisen out of any source of internal struggle for sovereignty or power, however much to be regretted, it would not have rendered me so miserable as this fearful intelligence has now done. Surely her Majesty's government will well consider the case. It is beyond a doubt that the treachery and bad faith of the sultan had resulted entirely from the fidelity of the rajah Muda Hassim, and of Pangeran Budrudeen to their engagements, and the treaty entered into with the British authorities in these seas. Nor can I forget that these princes and their families returned to the capital, at the express invitation of the sultan, in her Majesty's ship Samārang, and were subsequently reinstated in their former position, under the authority of a British naval officer. What other object can the sultan have in placing himself in a position of such decided hostility to the British government than a determination to have again recourse to the former atrocious system of piracy and murder.

No less than thirteen of the members of the royal family have been massacred; and that the vicious sovereign gave his consent, if he did not

directly order these murders, is clear on the face of the evidence before me. 1846.

Had I the power I would myself destroy both the city and the sultan, or at least would depose him; then, if possible, I would rescue the son of Muda Hassim and his surviving brothers, and place them in a fresh locality, and commence *de novo* with a better government under my own supervision.

Possibly her Majesty's Government may decide either on the punishment or deposition of this traitor to his engagements, and this murderer of his family. Should it be so, it will be necessary to consider what then will be the next best course to pursue,— how yet to save the country from a return to its evil ways. We cannot recall the past, but if decisive measures are speedily taken, the small remnant of the royal family, and others not implicated in the sultan's guilt, may, under protection, be formed into a government favourable to British interests, and to the interest of commerce generally; but one step is absolutely necessary to be taken — the British Government *must* act decisively if they wish to retain a shadow of character with the inhabitants of the Archipelago, or to suppress piracy. Desultory efforts can do nothing, and I am sorry to say we have in part reaped the fruits of long delay. However, to rail now is useless. My object must be to repair. The loss of Budrudeen is irreparable to his country, and to me every thing as a friend; yet, in a British point of view, the massacre may be turned to advantage and be the means of

1846 forming a government, a nominal government entirely at our command.

If we take possession either of Labuan or of Balambangan this new settlement will attract a large number of working classes in Brunè, and at once open that part of the country to the enterprise of the British merchant. Only act and with vigour, and every thing may yet be done. I am inclined to believe that the commander-in-chief will view the subject in the same light as I have done, for he has a personal knowledge of the intricate question of Borneo politics, and I am very certain from the known decision and character of Sir Thomas Cochrane, that, should he concur in the opinion which I have expressed, he will act at once and vigorously against the atrocious sultan, and inflict upon him the punishment he really appears to have sought at his hands. Sir Thomas will surely consider that the fate of these fine princes has been drawn upon them solely through their connection with the English, and that the existing government at Brunè has completely laid aside the mask, and shamefully broken all the solemn engagements entered into last year. For myself I feel confident that the sultan will now throw off all reserve, and that he will act against us in every way both openly and in secret. It behoves me, therefore, to be on my guard both to strengthen my position, and to counteract his treachery.

The numerous duties of the commander-in-chief on so extensive a station may perhaps render it out

of his power to undertake any operations in person in this quarter, but any additional naval force upon the coast will now be of the greatest service. I shall in the interim apply for one of the Honourable Company's steamers, with the object of visiting a few of the rivers, and so guard them against the contagion of Borneo. 1846.

On further inquiry I hear that they are fortifying the river, and that several new defences are in course of erection; and from the account which I have received from Captain Egerton of their proceedings in that quarter, and of their well devised attempt to get him into their power, it appears certain that it only requires a European boat to make her appearance to be instantly fired upon.

The first defences are on the island of Cherimon, and the great battery, which is admirably situated on the narrow flat in the centre of the town, has also been armed with the large brass guns which in my last visit were lying dismounted on the ground.

I have received this report from Jaffer. I have known him long and well, and he has shown a devotion to his master which does him high credit. I can write no more. My poor, poor friends, how sad and melancholy has been your fate! never, never can I forget it. The regret, the indignation which I feel overpowers me.

May 26.—The Iris may now be expected at any moment, and I trust that Captain Mundy will bring one of the Hon. Company's steamers with him: it will be preferable that the vessel should be obtained May 26.

1846. by his application rather than by mine, as there is a probability of her being employed on active service. I have written to him to propose this, and at the same time to acquaint him that in the event of his undertaking hostile measures against the Sakarran pirates, I should like to have as long a notice as possible, to allow of my collecting our native auxiliaries, and to explain that, in a Dyak warfare in these rivers, these natives are very useful, and can follow up the impression made further than we could do ourselves.

If Captain Mundy's operations should include an attack on Brunè, it would be a great thing. Two corvettes, a brig and steamer, with the boats of the Iris, would take the capital, as ships of war of light draft might get up to the forts with a little management. My gun-boat might also be ready prepared, and would, on occasion, make a tender for the frigate.

About a fortnight ago I returned from a cruize in the Honourable Company's steamer Phlegethon, which vessel, with his usual kindness and promptitude, the Governor of Singapore despatched to my aid immediately on receiving my application. I have visited several rivers, and purpose visiting several more to prevent these communities following the sultan's example whether for murder or piracy. They are utterly disaffected towards Brunè, and highly condemn the act: the sultan has, indeed, few well-wishers. During my absence I find that the Samārang has been here, and I learn, through

a letter from Sir Edward Belcher, that the Illanun pirates are in full activity to the northward. Forty Illanun war prahus are in the neighbourhood of Brunè, but whether to attack it or whether to assist, anticipating an assault from the English, does not seem clear. This information, however, confirms my worst fears. Brunè, it is now certain, will either fall before these pirates, or itself become a nest of them with the sultan at the head. Either way how disgraceful this will be, and what will the natives think of the English name? What influence or character can we have, or can we deserve to have, if we allow this wretched government to break every engagement, and with impunity to murder those who at the risk of life have been resolute in keeping faithfully the treaty? I maintain that the sultan has virtually proclaimed himself a pirate by this act. He has *murdered our friends*, the faithful *friends* of her Majesty's Government, *because they were our friends*, and for no other reason. I cannot think of these horrors with patience, and I have no vessel, no means of proceeding to the northward. 1846.

Oh how great is my grief and rage! * * * My friends! — my most unhappy friends! — all perished for their faithful adherence to us. Every man of ability, even of thought, in Borneo, is dead, — sacrificed. * * * But the British Government will surely act, and if not, — then let me remember, I am still at war with this traitor and murderer, — one more determined struggle, — one last

1846. convulsive effort, — and, if it fail, Borneo, and all for which I have so long, so earnestly laboured, must be abandoned and * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Captain Mundy's narrative.

Here Mr. Brooke's Journal abruptly ends. How truly do these concluding lines stamp the man. "One last convulsive effort:"—noble and chivalrous resolve. Who will not comprehend the self-sacrifice intended by that expression. Who will not see, that, when once fully assured that no assistance would be afforded by his government, Mr. Brooke had formed the resolution of making, with his own resources, one desperate attempt, "one last convulsive effort," to rescue the son of Muda Hassim, and the wives and children of his murdered friends from the grasp of the relentless sultan; but happily, at the moment these lines were penned, one of the divisions of England's fleet, — of that fleet whose high privilege and distinctive character it is, "to be the safeguard of our most gracious sovereign, and the security of such as pass on the seas on their lawful occasions," — was rapidly approaching the shores of Borneo, under the immediate command of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, who, informed of the horrible massacres, had postponed his return

to China, in order that he might repair, in person, to Sarāwak, and offer his assistance and protection to his friend and fellow countryman. 1846.

The subsequent proceedings of the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with Mr. Brooke, will be related in that portion of my own Journals which immediately follows, and, as the career of Mr. Brooke will be traced through many months of toil and anxiety, and the scene of his operations will now be extended to the extreme northern point of the coast of Borneo, and will embrace those combined operations which terminated in the defeat and submission of the sultan, the total destruction of the strong-holds of the Illanun pirates, and, finally, by the cession of the Island of Labuan, with its excellent harbour, to her Majesty's government, I trust it will not be found altogether misplaced, as a sequel to those valuable Journals, which, as already stated, I shall ever consider myself highly privileged in having had the permission to present to the public.

CAPTAIN MUNDY'S JOURNAL.

CHAP. I.

THE IRIS ON THE AFRICAN COAST. — NEWS FROM ENGLAND. — "BORNEO AND MR. BROOKE." — ISLAND OF ASCENSION. — RETURN TO PORTSMOUTH. — SAIL FOR CHINA. — THE DIDO. — THE IRIS AND THE FRENCH SQUADRON. — MONSOONS IN THE FORMOSA CHANNEL. — OPIUM CLIPPERS. — APPOINTMENT TO THE STRAITS' STATION. — VISIT SUMATRA. — CANNIBALS. — SAIL FOR MADRAS. — CALCUTTA. — MASSACRE OF MUDA HASSIM AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY. — THE BRITISH SQUADRON OFF SARAWAK. — MEETING WITH MR. BROOKE. — HIS PHILANTHROPIC MEASURES. — TOWN AND RESIDENCE.

1843. June. It was early in the month of June in the year 1843, whilst I was in command of the southern division of the west African station, and cruizing in H. M. S. Iris, off the river Congo, that a vessel was reported standing in for the land. A slaver, a slaver! at last, was the cry between the decks of the frigate, as the hands were turned up, sail quickly made, and a course shaped in the direction of the stranger. Our hopes were doomed to speedy disappointment; volumes of smoke pronounced her to be a steamer, and we soon learned by telegraphic communication, that she was in the service of her Majesty, not laden certainly with the fruits of the odious slave trade, but freighted with five months'

mails direct from England; and great riches indeed were these to men who had passed eight dreary months cruizing on this desolate shore, without news of home or of happy England, and without a single prize to vary the monotony of the scene. 1843.

It was some days subsequent to the arrival of this most welcome vessel, whilst I was engaged in examining a few of the newspapers strewed about my cabin in search of intelligence from the seat of war in China, that my attention was arrested by a paragraph headed "Borneo, and Mr. Brooke." I read it immediately, and the notice, though short, was so full of adventure and interest, that from this period I constantly found myself pondering over the probable results of his hazardous mission; and I anxiously desired that the chances of foreign service might one day carry me out to the scene of his chivalrous undertaking.

The Iris being at this time sickly, had been ordered to proceed to Ascension, and on arriving at that volcanic cinder, Captain Foote gave immediate directions for a medical survey to be held on board.

This was a trying and tedious business. Five surgeons, with their assistants, repaired on board the frigate, and the whole day was occupied in examining into the state of health of the officers and ship's company. Every person on the muster book had the honour of a minute and separate investigation from this conclave of medical gentlemen; and the result proving that fever to a great extent raged in the ship, and that it "would be advisable

1844. to amend her prophylactic condition" by a removal to a more salubrious part of the station, the commodore, in the exercise of a sound discretion, gave me orders to proceed with all despatch to Portsmouth, and on my arrival at that harbour we were forthwith paid off.

I recommissioned the Iris when her repairs were completed, and, to my great satisfaction, sailed for India and China in February, 1844, and after some delay in the River Plate, in consequence of the war in that quarter, reached Singapore in July.

My first inquiry was relative to the state of affairs at Sarāwak, and I learnt that the Dido, Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, was daily expected in the straits *en route* for Borneo, and that active operations against the pirates were in contemplation, to aid which Lieutenant-Colonel Butterworth, C.B., the Governor of Singapore, had offered the services of the steamer Phlegethon.

My orders were to proceed to Hong Kong, and sailing in company with a French squadron against a fresh south-easter, I was furnished with a favourable opportunity of showing the *elliptical stern* of the Iris to the French envoy extraordinary to the Emperor of China, and to the commodore who conveyed his Excellency in the Sirène, a fifty-gun frigate in high order, though she had not proved herself the "excellent marcheur" described by her officers on the day before the Fates ordained the trial of sailing.

Fifteen months passed away, during which period

my cruizing ground was the coast of China, but ever and anon stirring news from Borneo was wafted to the shores of the Celestial Empire, and excited the deepest interest. The unequalled and extraordinary career of Mr. Brooke in that hitherto inaccessible quarter, and the many difficulties he had surmounted in his steady progress towards carrying out his self-imposed task of regenerating a barbarous people, had now been proclaimed aloud by the Oriental press, and had created a general feeling of admiration for his perseverance; whilst the recent expedition of the Dido against the pirates, followed up by the advent of the commander-in-chief, Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, in the Bay of Malludu, and subsequently by the battle fought in that river by the force under Captain Talbot, rendered the appointment to what was usually termed the "Straits station," the most desirable of the detached commands in the gift of the admiral. 1845.

It was therefore with great pleasure that I found, on my arrival at Hong Kong, the Iris had been nominated for this duty. Every one on board was delighted at the idea of changing the eternal struggle against the adverse monsoons for the more exciting chances of a struggle with the Borneo pirates, and I may here remark that none but those who have been exposed to these winter monsoons, can form a conception of the difficulties of *working* against them; and both officers and men were not a little gratified at knowing the Iris to have been the

1845. first frigate that had succeeded in beating through the Formosa channel, in the height of the N.E. monsoon.

Whilst on this subject, let me pay a just tribute of praise to the celebrated opium clippers. Built from the most improved models of every country, officered by men of nerve as well as talent, and manned principally by Asiatics, these vessels do honour to the princely merchants who fit them out and employ them. In all weathers, and at all seasons, they are ready for work; and the wonderful passages made by them, when no other merchant vessels would attempt to put to sea, bear testimony to the energy and science of their commanders, as well as to the beauty and strength of their construction. The fleet of Mr. Matheson, the squadron of Mr. Dent, and the smaller vessels of other great firms in China, challenge the admiration of every seaman.

Having received on board two million of dollars, five months' provisions, and eight months' stores, the Iris left Hong Kong early in October, 1845, and anchored in Singapore Roads on the 9th of Nov. Here I found a letter from Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, announcing the arrival of the Dido in England after the quickest run on record from the Straits. To this I particularly allude, as my friend, divining the probability of my succeeding him on this station, especially called my attention to the position of Mr. Brooke at Sarāwak, and urged me to visit the coast of Borneo at the earliest

opportunity, and to give him that assistance which his then precarious situation might demand. I wrote immediately to the English rajah to announce my appointment, and to beg that he would acquaint me with the state of affairs in his province, and say when it would be desirable for the frigate to appear on the coast of Borneo. The communication with Sarāwak was at this period kept up monthly by a trading schooner, which, carrying over English goods to the natives, brought back antimony ore, and other productions of the new settlement. 1846.

Early in January, 1846, I received my first communication direct from Mr. Brooke, which announced that, although the country over which he ruled was enjoying peace, the people happy, and the town rapidly increasing in population, the piratical tribes of Sarēbas and Sakarran were again in movement, and would probably in the spring make another attempt to destroy the rising commerce of Sarāwak; he therefore suggested the propriety of my visiting the coast towards the end of March, by which time the intentions of the pirates would be more fully known.

Thus provided with the opinions and desires of Mr. Brooke, I put to sea for a cruize in the Straits of Malacca; and after looking in at the different ports of this peninsula, and also at those on the opposite shores of Sumatra, turned the ship's head towards Borneo in the middle of March; but I cannot pass over my visit to one of the principal

33041

1846. native states of Sumatra, named Battu Barra, without detailing a few particulars relative to the people in the interior of that district being charged with the crime of cannibalism, as it will hereafter appear, by extracts from the journals of Mr. Brooke, that this subject had not escaped his inquiring mind, when he suddenly found himself at a thousand miles distance from this spot, amongst a barbarous race, also accused of indulging in this revolting propensity.

The rajah of Battu Barra, named Muven, is sixty-five years of age, and a Mohammedan. He informed me that no English man-of-war had ever visited the roadstead; but that ten years ago, Mr. Bonham, when governor of Singapore, had landed at the town. The rajah then stated that the eastern branch of the river was navigable for boats for a three days' journey, and flowed through the country of the Battas, with whom his subjects traded in salt and opium; that the Battas still continued the custom of eating their fathers and mothers when old, as well as their prisoners of war; and the Laksemana, or chief minister, added, that he had frequently seen these people devouring human beings alive, and several others at the audience declared they had also witnessed the ceremony. In justice to the rajah Muven, I must add, that he himself and those around him seemed to look with disgust on this horrid system of cannibalism, and quickly changed the subject to the one ever uppermost in the minds of all independent

Eastern chieftains, namely, as to whether the Dutch were coming to take his country from him. 1846.

On receiving the usual answer always ready prepared for this universal question, his spirits revived, and the interview terminated to the satisfaction of all parties.

On the 14th of March, whilst standing in towards the roads of Singapore, with the intention of taking in provisions with all despatch, in order to be off the river Sarāwak at the appointed time, I observed a large ship getting under weigh, and the signal mate soon after reported, that he had made out the "blue" at the mizen, and in ten minutes from that time we were within signal distance of the commander-in-chief. On going on board the Agincourt, I first became acquainted with the desperate struggle then going on in the Punjáb, and learned from Sir Thomas Cochrane, that in consequence of the state of affairs in that quarter, he had determined to proceed with his flag-ship to India, and that he thought it necessary to take the Iris with him. As I had written to Mr. Brooke, assuring him he might rely on my being in Sarāwak at the time he proposed, I greatly regretted the necessity of the change in my destination; but on the admiral's informing me that the Hazard was on the coast of Borneo, I shaped my course once more through the Straits of Malacca in better heart than I otherwise should have done.

After refitting at Trincomalee both ships proceeded to Madras, and from thence I was despatched

1846. with treasure to Calcutta. We happened to reach the "City of Palaces" a few days anterior to a grand ball which was to be given by the bachelors at Barrackpore, and as both officers and young gentlemen (the term applied to the youths who tenant the midshipmen's berth) were anxious to accept an invitation given generally to all on board the frigate, I made up a large party for the occasion, and fixed our sailing for the subsequent day. Unfortunately for the lovers of the dance, on the morning before the ball, the "Calcutta Star," in a second edition, gave the following important news from Borneo:—

"By the arrival of the Honourable Company's steamer Tenasserim, from Pinang, we learn that the rajah Muda Hassim, pangeran Budrudeen, and all the princes favourable to the English policy, have been murdered by the orders of the sultan. Mr. Brooke, besieged at Sarāwak by the forces of the sultan, had retired to his fort, and was in imminent danger."

The reader will easily believe that the perusal of the above few lines prompted immediate inquiry on my part as to the truth of so startling an announcement, and on ascertaining that despatches from Sarāwak had been conveyed by the steamer to Sir Thomas Cochrane at Madras, I felt convinced from the known promptitude and decision of the commander-in-chief, that the war in India having so happily terminated, he would proceed without loss of time to the coast of Borneo.

My own line of action was evident. I sent off 1846.
expresses to Barrackpore, fourteen miles distant, to recall the officers already there, and applied at once to the government for a steamer to assist in getting the Iris into the offing, the wind blowing strong from the south-west.

Sir Herbert Maddock, the acting governor, entered warmly into my views, and immediately ordered the assistance I had requested. I found he had been acquainted with Mr. Brooke in early days, and when I pointed out the newspaper paragraph, he quaintly remarked, that if Mr. Brooke were the same man now as when last he saw him, he would die at his post sooner than give way an inch of ground.

At daylight on the following morning, we were steaming down the Hoogly, to the infinite disappointment of the juvenile portion of the officers, whose interest in Borneo politics was, doubtless, not sufficiently keen to make them alive to the necessity of relinquishing the pleasures of the ball, when the delay of a few short hours would have introduced them to the fascinations of the seductive polka.

Early the next day, the 8th of May, with a gale from the S.W., so fresh that the Hon. Company s steamer Enterprise was unable to steam out from Kedgeree to show the soundings, the Iris got under weigh, and, with double-reefed topsails, and top-gallant-masts on deck, in charge of a capital pilot, succeeded in working out to the sand-

1846. heads, and finally cleared the light-vessel the following evening.

Carrying a press of sail, we passed through the Andaman Islands on the 18th, and anchored in the harbour of Pinang on the 25th. The Agincourt had come in from Madras on the previous day; and by the arrival of the Samārang, Captain Sir Edward Belcher, from Borneo, despatches had been received, confirming the horrible massacre of the royal family, but bringing, at the same time, the gratifying intelligence of the safety of Mr. Brooke.

All attempts of the sultan to destroy him in his own province by force of arms, had been rendered impossible by the opportune arrival of the Hazard, Commander Egerton; and Lieutenant-Colonel Butterworth had instantly sent off the Phlegethon, to be ready to act according to circumstances.

By the Samārang, I received a letter from Mr. Brooke, acquainting me with what had passed at Brunè, and giving me a hint that the services of the ship were much required. At the same time that this letter came to hand I also received a copy of Keppel's work on Borneo, or rather the united Journals of Mr. Brooke and Captain Keppel, edited by my gallant friend and brother officer, and arriving as they did so *à propos*, I need hardly say I read them with double interest.

Having been intimately acquainted with the captain of the Dido for many years, and knowing well both his worth as a private friend and his merits

as an officer, I was well aware that he was just the man to have been selected for any delicate and dangerous enterprise, and it therefore gave me real pleasure to observe the high opinion which the English rajah entertained of his services throughout the period of their joint operations for the suppression of piracy. Nor was I less struck with the modesty with which the part which the officers and crew of the Dido performed, was described by the pen of my ardent-minded and active friend. 1846.

On the 9th of June the admiral left Pinang in the Agincourt, accompanied by the Iris and Spiteful steamer, and after taking in stores and provisions at Singapore, sailed on the 18th of that month with the squadron under his command for Borneo; and having been joined by the Hazard in the China seas, anchored off the Sarāwak river on the evening of the 24th.

On the following day I was invited by Sir Thomas Cochrane to accompany him in the Phlegethon to the town of Sarāwak, and by mid-day the steamer anchored off the mansion of Mr. Brooke.

If the reader has regarded the date noted in the few lines at the commencement of this journal, it will be seen that exactly three years had passed away since the first glimmering of the adventurous career of Mr. Brooke had shot accidentally across my mind, and now the moment had arrived when the aspirations of other days were to the letter accomplished.

1846. I stood on the spot rendered for ever memorable as the birthplace of that civilising influence which an English gentleman, unaided and alone, had devoted the best years of his life to inculcate and extend; and I came to this spot with the commander-in-chief, who thoroughly appreciating the sacrifices made by the great philanthropist, and foreseeing the incalculable benefits which might yet arise to our own country from the extension of her commerce in this fertile region, had hastened from the shores of India to act with his squadron should the case require it.

Mr. Brooke, accompanied by Mr. Crookshanks, Dr. Treacher, and Mr. Ruppell, received us on the pier, and the necessary introductions over, we passed up the gravelled walk, redolent with the perfume of innumerable jessamine trees now in full blossom, and forming a thick hedge-row on either side, and entered the great verandah of the picturesque mansion.

Here we delayed only a few minutes to admire the novel and interesting scene before us, and then passed out into the garden below, and now whilst I leave the commander-in-chief and the rajah beneath the welcome shade of the flowing palms in earnest conversation, and together, settling the future destiny of the kingdom of Borneo Proper, I will describe my first impressions, and relate some particulars of the state of the province of Sarāwak at this date, the 24th day of June, 1846.

The town itself, by the lowest computation, now

contained 12,000 inhabitants, including about 150 Chinese, whilst before the supreme authority had been vested in Mr. Brooke, it was limited to a few mud huts with about 1500 persons, most of these being either the relatives or armed retainers of the native princes. 1846.

What a change had been wrought in a few short years.

The order had been issued by the English rajah that the persons and property of every race should henceforth be equally protected, and that the wretched Dyak, hitherto the victim of the more enlightened Malay, should no longer be forced to yield for a nominal price the fruits of his daily toil; and further to insure the practical working of this important measure, Mr. Brooke had himself visited the interior, and passed many weeks amidst the wildest hordes, establishing confidence in every quarter, explaining the necessity of union amongst the various tribes themselves, without which it would be impossible for him to carry out the great object he had in view. Let them once show a spirit and a desire to act together, and he would throw around them the shield of his power, and would take such steps as should prevent the rapacious enemies of the peaceful Dyak from again invading their homes for rapine or pillage. Already has this earnest appeal been attended with success in several districts; ancient family feuds have been quelled, animosities suppressed, and the first germs of a rational freedom instilled into their minds.

1846. The new house built by Mr. Brooke, on the left bank of the river, is of wood, and erected, according to the custom of the country, on piles, at ten feet from the ground. The shape is rectangular, with the long frontage facing the stream, and a large verandah embracing the four sides. The saloon or hall of reception is forty feet long, and adjoining this is the library, well stocked with literature, and with the latest publications on geographical and scientific subjects. Two bed-rooms complete the arrangements of the interior of the mansion, which is of one story only, and surmounted by a lofty and sloping roof, formed from the leaves of the Nipa palm. The kitchen, offices, and bath rooms, are detached buildings at a few yards distant; and here also has lately been erected a neat little cottage, in which beds are prepared for those visitors, whom either duty or curiosity may bring within the range of the simple but cordial hospitality of the warm-hearted owner.

After strolling about the grounds till evening set in, the whole party met again at dinner, and long before the cloth was removed, the chairs, which were arranged around the walls of the room, were tenanted by the principal men of the town, who presented themselves out of compliment to the "Rajah Laut," or "King of the Sea." At a later period two of the native rulers also made their appearance, and were provided with seats at the table close to Mr. Brooke, and seemed most anxious in their inquiries about the intentions of the ad-

miral. Nothing, however, was made known beyond the report that the squadron would not delay off this part of the coast, and that Mr. Brooke would accompany the commander-in-chief on board the Agincourt to-morrow, which information, though received with sincere regret by every native in the hall, was hailed with delight by the naval officers present, as it promised to be the forerunner of active measures on the coast. 1846.

Many of us, deeply interested in the graphic descriptions and romantic incidents, given without reserve by the gentlemen resident at Sarāwak, remained till a late hour strolling round the terrace, enjoying the refreshing coolness of the breeze, and listening to many a tale of Borneo adventure; but as I hope to have other opportunities of acquiring a closer insight into the history of this novel Carthage, I will not, at so early a stage of my acquaintance with the English rajah and his enthusiastic associates, attempt to give any further description, either of the country or the people.

CHAP. II.

STEAMING DOWN THE SARĀWAK. — FUGITIVES FROM BRUNÈ. — PREPARATIONS FOR ITS DEFENCE. — EXTENT OF THE MASSACRE AT THE CAPITAL. — MR. BROOKE'S DEPARTURE FROM SARĀWAK. — VISIT A DYAK VILLAGE. — SAILING OF THE SQUADRON. — EXPEDITION UP THE REJANG. — PATINGI ABDULRAMAN'S HOUSE. — THE KANŌWIT RIVER. — RUINED VILLAGE. — SURPRIZE THE PIRATE SETTLEMENT OF KANŌWIT. — VISIT FROM THE CHIEF. — EXAMINATION OF THE HOUSES. — ACCIDENT TO THE STEAMER. — VILLAGE OF IGAN. — RETURN TO THE SQUADRON. — JAFFER'S EXAMINATION. — ACCOUNT OF THE BORNEO MASSACRE. — DEATH OF MUDA HASSIM AND PANGERAN BUDRUDEEN. — CONSPIRACY TO MURDER MR. BROOKE. — CHARACTER OF BŪDRUDEEN. — ANCHOR OFF THE BRUNÈ RIVER.

1846. June 25. *June* 25. 1846. — REAR-ADMIRAL Sir Thomas Cochrane and suite, accompanied by Mr. Brooke, embarked on board the Phlegethon early in the morning, and we were soon under full power, steaming down the Sarāwak. All were in high spirits on board, for though our chief never gave the slightest hint to those under his command, and the English rajah, in his capacity of political agent, was equally reserved on the subject of the state of affairs in Borneo, yet the public voice was not silent, and we knew that the sultan and his pangerans had boldly proclaimed, in the streets of Brunè, that they had so strengthened the river defences, by staking the

channels and by the erection of forts, that they were prepared to oppose by force any attempt made by the admiral to bring up his ships to the city. 1846.

Many natives, escaping in boats from the tyranny of the blood-thirsty myrmidons of the sultan, had sought refuge in Sarāwak, and all reported that the piratical party were completely in the ascendant; and rumours were abroad of heavy batteries thrown up at the salient point of the river, and that the capital was put into a state of defence; 5000 warriors were under arms to protect it, and a body-guard of 500 men about the person of the sovereign. Such were the prominent points of the information gathered by the officers from the loungers of the bazaar; and, allowing much for exaggeration, it was sufficient to create a belief that there would be work to do. Then there was a steady report of emissaries from the throne itself secretly prepared to put the English rajah to death, either by force or poison, whilst further particulars had been received of the atrocities committed at Brunè at the commencement of the year; and instead of its being found that the wholesale murder of so many members of the royal family had been exaggerated, the truth went far beyond the statement given in the first account.

Thirteen of the sultan's relatives, and as many chiefs, inclined to encourage a friendly commu-

1846. nication with European nations, fell victims to this successful conspiracy, and a spirit of determined resistance to the progress of civilisation and of lawful commerce was reported to be the general topic of conversation amongst the warlike tribes to the northward. How different a feeling reigned at Sarāwak was indeed apparent on the morning of our departure. When it became known that the rajah was about to absent himself from his country, and to proceed with the squadron to Brunè, the greatest interest and anxiety was manifested by the population. The head men of every class and large numbers of Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks assembled to bid him farewell, and as he stepped into the boat and waved his last adieus to his affectionate subjects and to the few tried friends his own countrymen, who had so long shared his exile and his privations, it was indeed a stirring spectacle, and evidenced in the strongest manner the popularity of his paternal government.

About two miles from Sarāwak the Phlegethon anchored, and our party visited a village of the Sibuyow Dyaks, which was situated at the distance of a few hundred yards up a small creek, and completely buried in the jungle. This was the first opportunity afforded me of seeing these interesting people. We took them quite by surprise; but Mr. Brooke being with us, they seemed delighted to gratify our curiosity by showing us every part of the building; however, as I shall probably have far better opportunities of observing their habits and

customs, I shall not attempt to describe my first impressions farther than by the remark, that the young women who were diligently employed in pounding rice in mortars of large dimensions, appeared highly good-humoured, and of pleasant countenances. They were small but remarkably well-shaped, and with limbs of delicate formation. Their hair, which was long and dark, was twisted up at the back of the head, the frontal arrangement being something between a braid and the costume à la Chinoise. They wore earrings apparently of a kind of mixed metal and of very large size, but by no means a becoming ornament, being so disproportionate to their small and symmetrical figures. The colour of their skins was light brown, smooth, and glossy. They were naked to the waist, around which several coils of ornamental wire were tightly wound, and from this a cotton garment fell gracefully to the knees. The men were of short stature, stoutly made, and nothing remarkable in their manner or appearance. 1846.

On the inner wall several human skulls were hanging confined in a net, but they appeared to have been suspended there for a long period, and to have been quite neglected. Numerous fine children were playing about the verandah, and looked upon us without fear. At the side of the river I observed several large war prahus building, and was surprised at the serviceable appearance of the iron tools with which the shipwrights were working.

1846. We regained the steamer after an hour's absence, and, weighing again, immediately proceeded on our destination, and shortly after sunset, Sir Thomas Cochrane and Mr. Brooke were on board the Agincourt, and the captains all right in their respective ships.

June 26. *June* 26.—At daylight the squadron got under weigh, and proceeded in order of sailing in two columns to the northward, viz.:—

Agincourt, 74, Captain Hope Johnstone, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, C. B.

Iris, 26, Captain Rodney Mundy.

Ringdove, 16, Commander Sir William Hoste, Bart.

Hazard, 18, Commander Egerton.

Royalist, 10, Lieut. Reid.

H. M. steam ship Spiteful, Commander Maitland.

H. C. steamer Phlegethon, Mr. Ross, commander.

The Dædalus, 20, Captain M'Quhae, with the Honourable Company's steamer Pluto, had been directed to join the squadron at Labuan, and with this reinforcement the commander-in-chief would have a disposable body for land service of 230 marines, and 500 seamen; a force of so imposing a nature as to inspire confidence of success in any operation that might be required, either by land or by water. Towards the evening the course was altered to the eastward, and the entrance of the Batang Lupar was just descernible.

The breeze continued light and favourable, and soon after midnight the soundings having gradually shoaled to ten fathoms the squadron anchored. 1846.

June 27.—When the day broke we observed the low land of Borneo to the southward of Cape Sirik, distant six or seven miles, the ships closely packed together, and rolling considerably in a ground swell. After breakfast, I received a note from the commander-in-chief, inviting me to accompany him in an expedition which he was about to make in the Phlegethon up the river Rejang, and to prepare for an absence of a few days. The object of this excursion was to visit the chiefs of the Dyak tribes of Siriki and Kanōwit, whose people had been lately at sea on a piratical cruise, and to warn them of the consequences of a continuance in such proceedings. I gladly accepted an offer which promised to lead to results so interesting, and forthwith repaired on board the steamer. The party consisted, besides our chief, of Mr. Brooke, Commander Maitland, Mr. Waller, the Admiral's secretary, and myself. June 27.

Orders had been given to Captain Johnstone to weigh with the squadron, proceed round Cape Sirik, and cruise off the river Igan till we rejoined; while we ourselves, steaming away in the Phlegethon, by noon entered the mouth of a river supposed to be the Rejang. The native fishermen fled in every direction as we approached the shore; and,

1846. finding that the steamer could not discover any channel over the bar with more than six feet water, a boat was lowered and sent to sound, and endeavour to open a communication. She shortly succeeded in inducing one of the canoes to allow of a parley, and from this source learnt that the river we were off was the Balowi, and that the Rejang was four or five miles to the southward. The gig returned with this information, and with a large supply of excellent fish, amongst which the pomfret proved the best; and, altering our course, we entered the great river at 3 P. M., carrying four or five fathoms over the bar.

The stream is about four miles in breadth at the entrance, and about a mile wide opposite the village of the same name, which is composed of a few large houses erected on lofty piles, all in a very dilapidated state. Here, after many assurances of personal safety, we prevailed upon a fisherman to act as pilot; and, continuing our passage up the stream, anchored at dusk in the centre of a reach about half a mile wide, and clear of lofty trees. The depth was seven fathoms, and our distance from the sea fourteen or fifteen miles. Thermometer 85°, and no annoyance from musquitoes or other insects.

June 28. *June* 28. — At 5 A. M. the day broke, and we recommenced our ascent, steaming at six or seven miles per hour. We reached Siriki, and anchored off the house of Patingi Abdulraman in the forenoon. Siriki is situated in a small stream branch-

ing off the main river, and, at our anchorage, there was barely space for the Phlegethon to swing. 1846.

Our party landed immediately, and proceeded to the mansion of the chief. This strange building was the first Dyak house of great dimensions which I had seen, and was erected on a high mound at a hundred yards from the landing-place. I observed that the main foundation consisted of the trunk of a large straight tree, sawed off about twenty feet from the roots. Around this, piles of the same height had been driven into the earth; and on the summit of these a bamboo platform was constructed, which formed the floor of the tenement. The roof was made from the leaf of the Nibong and other palms, and the rooms not more than six feet in height, the women's apartments being in the rear. An immense concourse of these wild people was assembled to meet us, and all were evidently afraid that our visit might lead to the destruction of the place; for the fact of the ships being at anchor off the Rejang was already spread abroad, and the old chief himself had been long known as the friend of the piratical party.

The commander-in-chief, however, being anxious to carry out, so far as it was possible, that pacific policy which was so much in accordance with the views of Mr. Brooke, contented himself with recommending the patingi to abstain from his former piratical proceedings, and to keep his war-boats within the river. This he solemnly protested he would do; and after Mr. Brooke, in an eloquent

1846. speech, had communicated the intention of the admiral with respect to his contemplated visit to the capital, we bade adieu to this picturesque spot, and, regaining the main stream, steamed on again to the eastward. The banks of the river were not remarkable for beauty. On the sand ridges, adjoining the mangroves, were seen numerous crocodiles, at several of which we practised with small arms; and great was the astonishment of these huge monsters, whilst reposing in tranquil sleep, half immersed by their weight in their muddy beds, to receive as a first salute the contents of our rifles, followed up immediately by a round of grape and canister from the six-pounders amidship.

After steaming, for thirteen hours, to the junction of the Igan and Rejang, we anchored for the night, being then about eighty miles from the sea, and in the centre of the river, at this point about a mile in width. During the night the thermometer stood at 89°, and we all slept comfortably beneath the awning.

June 29. *June* 29.—Under weigh again at daylight, and commenced steaming up the Kanōwit river, which, from being about a mile wide where it joins the Rejang and Igan, gradually decreases to about 380 yards near Kanōwit village, distant between forty and fifty miles. Our guides were highly delighted at the idea of the surprise which the appearance of our vessel would create amongst a tribe of wild men who had never seen an European, or heard of a smoke-ship, and who were described.

as a very cruel and wicked set. We passed several deserted and ruined villages, destroyed by these pirates, as against a gentle ebb we slowly ascended the river; the scenery gradually improved, mountains being perceptible in the distance, and the jungle less impervious, with large trees to vary the monotony of constant low underwood. The durien and other fruit trees flourish here; but I observed no signs of cultivation, though the natives are reported to grow paddy and sago in sufficient quantity for their own consumption. 1846.

Shortly after noon our pilots pointed out the neck of land round which, in a small bay, was situated the village of Kanōwit; and above the trees we caught sight of numerous flags, and the matted roofs of houses. The admiral now ordered the steamer to be kept as close as possible to the overhanging palms; and with our paddle-box just grazing their feathery branches, we shot rapidly round the point, and the surprise was complete; so complete, indeed, that groups of matrons and maidens who, surrounded by numerous children, were disporting their sable forms in the silvery stream, and enjoying, under the shade of the lofty palms, its refreshing waters, had scarcely time to skreen themselves from the gaze of the bold intruders on their sylvan retreat.

It would be difficult to describe the horror and consternation of these wild Dyak ladies as the anchor of the Phlegethon dropped from her bows into the centre of the little bay selected for their

1846. bathing-ground. The first impression seemed to have stupified both old and young, as they remained motionless with terror and astonishment. When conscious, however, of the terrible apparition before them, they set up a loud and simultaneous shriek, and, fleeing rapidly from the water, dragged children of all ages and sizes after them, and rushed up their lofty ladders for refuge: then we heard the tom-tom beat to arms, and in every direction the warriors were observed putting on their wooden and woollen armour, and seeking their spears and sumpitans.

In ten minutes all seemed ready for the fight, though evidently more anxious to find the extraordinary stranger inclined for peace. Meanwhile, the steamer swinging gradually to the young flood, and so drawing her stern within a few yards of the landing-place, brought into view the whole of the under part of the floor of this immense building erected at the very brink of the stream; for the piles on which it was supported were *forty feet* in height, and although at this short distance, had these savages chosen to attack us, a few of the spears and poisoned arrows might have reached our decks, it was evident that their own nest thus raised in the air, though containing 300 desperate men, was entirely at our mercy.

Our guides or pilots had hailed them from the moment of our arrival, counselling them to desist from any aggressive act, telling them that the strangers were white men from the West, were friendly, and

that the Great Sea Lord wished to receive a visit from the chief of the tribe, who might trust himself on board in safety; but the fears of the people were too strong, and the chief not venturing to come forward, the admiral directed a white flag to be hoisted. After some little stir it was discovered that no flag of this colour was in the Indian code, and as no white bunting could be found on board, I had recourse to one of my linen sheets, which was quickly triced up at the fore, and its effect seemed instantaneous. 1846.

In a moment from the large verandah, and from every window, strips of white cloth were hung out, and amidst loud shouts of joy, the men rushed down the ladders, some bringing the flags with them, and others launching their canoes, pulled directly to the steamer without apprehension.

The chief, who was a very old man, with about thirty followers, then came on board. He was profusely tattooed all over the body, and, like the rest of his savage crew, was a hideous object. The lobes of his ears hung nearly to his shoulders, and in them immense rings were fixed. Round his waist he wore a girdle of rough bark which fell below his knees, and on his ancles large rings of various metals. With the exception of the waistcloth, he was perfectly naked. We knew that this old rascal and the whole tribe were pirates downright and hereditary, and that, joined with the Siriki people, they had only a few months ago committed dreadful outrages on the coast, their most

1846. recent amusement having been a descent on the village of Palo, which, after a brave defence by the inhabitants, had been totally destroyed. Palo, like Rejang, is, or rather was, a collection of houses built on the summit of immense piles forty feet from the ground, and, according to the information given us by our pilot, was inhabited by a race of Milanows, brave and accustomed to war.

The invading force of tattooed warriors was, however, too numerous to be long withstood, and the piles being eventually either hacked to pieces or burnt down, the lofty buildings fell with a crash to the ground, when, with the exception of a few able-bodied men, who may have escaped to the jungle, the whole tribe was made captive, and carried away in triumph to Kanōwit. The young and lovely of the women were, of course, the greatest prizes, and as several appear to have been taken on this occasion, and the law of having only *one* wife seems to be in force in this quarter, we must suppose that many of the youthful Kanōwittians were anxious to be provided with a foreign bride.

Under the circumstances above detailed, it is not surprising that this horde of desperadoes was much alarmed at our presence, believing that their doom was sealed. The fame of Mr. Brooke had reached even this remote spot, 120 miles in the interior, and the atrocities committed at Brunè by the sultan were also known, proving that a communication exists throughout the greater part of

Borneo Proper. The admiral gave the same advice to this man as he had done to the Chief of Siriki; and the same promises were made in return, of abstaining from piracy for the future. This chief was suffering from ophthalmia, and after the termination of the audience, he was handed over to the surgeon, who quickly relieved him, and the octogenarian savage returned to his house in an extacy of delight. 1846.

Having dismissed our visiters, we all landed, and some of us mounting the ladders of these extraordinary houses, presented ourselves as objects of curiosity to the women and children. I was surprised to find the former as well clothed as the Chinese, and rather good-looking. Their skins a dark brown, like the American Indians. The rooms were literally crowded with children, who, after receiving a few presents, soon got accustomed to us, and danced around, and laughed heartily.

I could just stand upright in the room, and looking down at the scene below, might have fancied myself seated on the topmast cross-trees. Having traversed every part of the long gallery thus level with the summits of the trees, and distributed the few gifts we had to bestow on the women and children, we turned our backs on the pendant human skulls, and retracing our steps to terra firma, immediately proceeded to the Phlegethon, where we found perfect confidence established between the crew and the natives, and an active exchange of goods in operation. Old tin "preserve-pots" and tobacco were

1846. the articles mostly prized by the Kanōwittians, and were freely given for the primitive weapons of this warlike people.

On an adjoining eminence stood a small building, elaborately decorated with flags, which was reported to be the tomb of one of their men renowned in war, and which appeared to be an object of much interest to Sir Thomas Cochrane, who examined it most minutely.

After a two hours' visit, we commenced our descent of the river, and anchored at dusk at the junction we had left in the morning. The day's work had been most interesting, and we also ascertained that the Phlegethon might have proceeded about forty miles further inland, after which canoes alone can ascend the river; but whether there is water communication to any of the other large rivers which run either to the south or south-eastern side of Borneo, we could not satisfactorily ascertain, nor could we gain any positive information as to the great lake of Kina-Balow, but Mr. Brooke is inclined to believe in its existence.

June 30. *June* 30.—At daylight we commenced steaming down the Igan, mango trees and jungle close to the water's edge, the general character of the river being the same as the Rejang, and nowhere any signs of cultivation. We saw no crocodiles to-day. About one P.M., in rounding one of the points about eight miles above the village of Igan, we suddenly shoaled the water, and, before we could stop the engine, shot into five feet, and

grounded. The stream-anchor was quickly laid out and hove on, but as the tide had fallen considerably, all our efforts to get afloat were of no avail. It now became a question of patience for the next flood; so steadying her with the bower laid out in the middle of the stream, we went to dinner, having previously despatched one of the cutters out to sea, to endeavour to communicate with the squadron, and obtain assistance. In the meantime our position, jammed in amongst the Nipa palms, was extremely disagreeable; the heat oppressive, and the ship's deck completely taken possession of by innumerable musquitos and sand-flies. The admiral, however, retired to rest, punctual as ever to his hour, assuming a perfect indifference, if he did not feel it; whilst Brooke, Maitland, and myself perched ourselves on the paddle-box, and, endeavouring to drive away our tormentors by the "vivifying weed," discussed Borneo politics till morning's early dawn, when we resigned ourselves to our planks, regardless of the enormous spiders, cockroaches, and occasional scorpions, which, with myriads of ants, had been brought on board by our savage friends at Kanōwit, and now sought shelter under our lee. 1846.

July 4. — On the morning of the 1st, we hove the Phlegethon off as the tide rose, and, steaming down the Igan, reached the village at eight. It stands on the right bank, about four miles from the July 4.

1846. sea, and contains three thousand inhabitants, including three hundred fighting men. The children in the large verandahs facing the stream seemed innumerable, and, with the women, came out to see us pass. Flags were hoisted, and preparations made to receive the English rajah; the chief and his gaudily dressed followers, with their large umbrellas and banners, being already at the landing-place when the steamer appeared abreast of the village.

The admiral, however, did not wish to communicate, as Mr. Brooke had visited the place two months before, and had announced the determination of the British Government with respect to piracy, and had also made agreements for having wood cut for the steamers. In another hour we were once more in the open sea, after a cruise of four days in the interior; having entered, as will be seen by reference to the chart, on the western shore through the Rejang, and got out again on the northern shore by the Igan.

Nothing was to be seen of the squadron on any part of the horizon; but, just as we were losing sight of the land, heavy guns were heard in the north-east quarter, and to that direction we accordingly steered. The weather was perfect, and the sea smooth, with a light breeze favourable to our progress towards the Borneo river; but, as yet, the treacherous sultan can hardly be aware of the formidable force which is gradually approaching his

wicked capital; nor would his highness probably dream that, in so few months after the perpetration of his atrocious murders, the earnest appeal of the English rajah would be warmly responded to by the advent of the commander-in-chief in person, to call both the sovereign and his ministers to account for the breach of faith, and of the treaty lately entered into with her Majesty's Government. 1846.

And now I will endeavour to narrate, in as concise a form as possible, the substance of a most affecting and interesting history.

This forenoon was occupied with a strict examination of Jaffer, the confidential servant of the murdered pangeran Budrudeen, who had been taken on board the Phlegethon at Sarāwak for this purpose. Sir Thomas Cochrane was particularly desirous of hearing verbatim from this man the whole account of the assassination of the members of the royal family, and therefore requested Mr. Brooke to take to his assistance the two interpreters brought from Singapore, and to interrogate the witness in his presence.

The young Bornean was therefore brought upon the quarter-deck of the steamer, and desired to relate circumstantially all that he knew personally relative to this horrible tragedy.

Jaffer then stated, that on the arrival of H. M. S. Hazard at the entrance of the Borneo river, in the month of March, he proceeded on board that vessel by order of pangeran Muda Mohamed, for the pur-

1846. pose of informing Captain Egerton of the events which had taken place, and to tell him from Muda Mohamed on no account to trust himself at the city, as, if he did so, his life would certainly be sacrificed, nearly all the royal family, friends to the English, having been killed; and that the sultan was erecting forts to defend the river, and was determined to hold no further intercourse with Europeans. Jaffer further stated, that it was with great difficulty he had managed to escape from the city, and to reach the ship, and that he explained to Captain Egerton that he wished to remain on board the Hazard, and go on to Sarāwak to see Mr. Brooke, such being the instructions which he had received from pangeran Muda Mohamed, who, with three other brothers, and a few children of Muda Hassim, alone survived the fatal night of the massacre. Jaffer continued his narrative by stating that the rajah Muda Hassim, at the especial direction of the sovereign, had assumed the title of muda, or young sultan, and had been declared heir to the throne; and, to every appearance, was in high favour with his highness.

The four brothers were at this time living in security in various parts of the city, quite unsuspicious of any conspiracy against them, when suddenly, in the dead of night, the houses of each of the princes, and other men of rank known to be favourable to the English policy and to the suppression of piracy, were attacked by orders from

the sultan, given under the royal signet, and thirteen members of his own family—uncles, nephews, and cousins—were barbarously assassinated by this unnatural monster. Jaffer, at the moment of the attack, was in attendance on his lord the pangeran Budrudeen, and, with a few of his immediate followers who happened to be in the house, made every exertion to repel the assailants. 1846.

For some time Budrudeen fought bravely at their head; but, taken completely by surprise, overpowered by numbers, and desperately wounded, he at last gave way, and, retiring by the women's apartments, escaped to a distant part of the building, accompanied by his sister and by another young lady, all of whom were by this time aware, from the shouts and exclamations of the multitude, that Budrudeen was attacked by the authority of his own uncle and sovereign, whom he had so long and faithfully served.

On rejoining his lord, Jaffer was directed to open a cask or barrel of gunpowder which was found standing in the room. This order he immediately obeyed, and waited his lord's further commands.

Pangeran Budrudeen then took a ring from his finger, and calling Jaffer to his presence, placed it in his hands with a last injunction to flee in haste to the sea, to endeavour to reach Sarāwak, and to convey the ring to his friend Mr. Brooke as a dying memento of his esteem, and to bid Mr. Brooke not

1846. to forget him, and to lay his case and the cause of his country before the Queen of England.

Having received the ring, and faithfully promised to comply with these commands, Jaffer was ordered to depart, and as soon as he had done so, his lord fired the gunpowder, and pangeran Budrudeen and the two women were instantly blown up.

Of Muda Hassim's death no circumstantial account has yet reached me, but I introduce the following brief narrative as related to Mr. Brooke:—

"Forty or fifty men surrounded the house of Muda Hassim, and having set it on fire in several places, a general attack was made by these ruffians. Muda Hassim, in the confusion of the first onset, effected his escape to the opposite side of the river, with several of his brothers, his wife and children, and protected by the small body of his attendants whom he had hastily collected, was enabled for some time to defend himself against his enemies. Overwhelmed at last by the number of his assailants, he was obliged to give way, and having lost all his guns, ammunition, and property, he found himself at the mercy of his opponents. Some of his brothers had been shot, others wounded, and no hope remaining of safety except in the mercy of his sovereign, he sent messages to beg that his life might be spared. This was peremptorily refused, and death being thus inevitable, he retreated to a boat which chanced to be at the river's side, and placing a quarter cask of gunpowder in the cabin, he

called to his surviving brothers and sons to enter, and immediately firing the train, the whole party were blown up. Muda Hassim, however, was not killed by the explosion, but determined not to be taken alive, he terminated his existence by blowing out his brains with a pistol. 1846.

"Jaffer, the servant of Budrudeen, with much difficulty effected his retreat and contrived to hide himself for several days in the city: at length he was discovered and brought before the sultan, who perceiving the ring on his finger, immediately took it from him and ordered him from his presence. Jaffer then found an asylum with pangeran Muda Mohamed, the brother of Muda Hassim, who after being desperately wounded in several places, had saved his life by flight and been ultimately protected by the sultan, his uncle. The sultan had openly proclaimed that he had killed the rajah Muda Hassim, and the other members of the royal family, because they were the friends of the English, and were anxious to act up to the treaties, and to suppress piracy. His highness had also built forts and made no secret of his determination to oppose by force any attempt to approach the capital. On the arrival of the Hazard he had sent two pangerans down the river under the disguise of friends, bearing Muda Hassim's flag for the express purpose of inducing the captain to accompany them on shore, when they intended to kill him, and the people in the streets of Brunè

1846. and in the bazaars talked loudly of cutting out any merchant vessel which might appear upon the coast.

"The sultan had also engaged a man to convey an order under the royal hand to pangeran Makota, to murder Mr. Brooke either by treachery or by poison, or if not able to accomplish this object, to excite the people of Sarāwak to drive him out of the country."

Such are the particulars of this most abominable tragedy. They agreed in every part with the depositions made before the authorities at Singapore; and though subjected to a long cross-examination by the commander-in-chief and Mr. Brooke, Jaffer maintained a dignified deportment, and gave his evidence with a manliness and good feeling that spoke volumes for the truthfulness of his melancholy history. Frequently, when relating in detail the cruelties of that fearful night, and the gallant bearing of his lord and master, he was completely overcome; and seemed oppressed with renewed grief when obliged again to relate the circumstances of this great man's noble and magnanimous death.

Poor Budrudeen! I had myself heard so much of him, of his noble character and immense superiority over all the other princes of Borneo, that, though he had passed away from the scene before I had become acquainted with the stirring events acting on this new field for British enterprise, still

I was a willing listener to the anecdotes of his active life, which were given us by rajah Brooke as we steamed along the sea-board of this magnificent country — a country which Brooke had fondly hoped, through the promised aid of Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, on some later day, to have restored to its ancient state of grandeur and prosperity. 1846.

The opinion which Sir Thomas Cochrane had formed of Budrudeen was also most favourable. It appears that when the commander-in-chief anchored off Brunè, in the summer of last year, this prince, with four or five others, went on board the flag-ship, to pay a complimentary visit; and Sir Thomas informs me that he was particularly struck with the polished manner of Budrudeen on his first introduction. On being ushered into the cabin, he came forward with much dignity and composure, followed by the other princes; and on the admiral pointing out to him a seat, and in a manner endeavouring to conduct him to it, he took hold of the admiral's hand, and insisted on leading him first to the ottoman, nor would he be seated till he had accomplished this object. Sir Thomas described to me, that he was both surprised and amused at this piece of gallantry, but was still more struck by the manner and grace with which he performed it, and by his whole subsequent deportment, which, during a long interview, was marked by the same ease and gentleman-

1846. like bearing, and would have done credit to the most polished courtier of any age or country. Of Muda Hassim Sir Thomas did not form so favourable an impression, describing him as much inferior to Budrudeen, though more distinguished in appearance than the other branches of the royal family. All were handsomely and well dressed; and shut out, as they must have been from their youth, from the civilised world, it becomes a matter of astonishment whence such an attractive manner and good breeding could be derived.

Having been present during the whole of Jaffer's examination, it will readily be believed that I felt more than ever indignant at the inhuman barbarity of the sultan, and could well enter into the feelings of Mr. Brooke, and conceive the cup of bitterness which he had drunk when he received from the faithful Jaffer the account of the last moments of the noble Budrudeen, and his dying assurances of an unchangeable affection.

The whole history appeared written in the character of an Eastern tale, purposely crowded with horrors. It was difficult to believe in the reality of such scenes being enacted in these enlightened days, or to imagine that the story which had been listened to with such earnest attention by the commander-in-chief was not a romantic fiction, but a stern and undoubted fact. A stubborn fact, indeed; the results arising from which to European commerce in the Eastern seas none can foresee.

So undisguised and determined a breach of engagements with the British Government has been unheard of in these days. It demands most prompt and decisive measures; and though the responsibility of undertaking any hostile measures at so many thousands of miles from England is immense, yet the known firmness of character and determination of our admiral is an assurance that there will be work for the squadron, if ample reparation be not made by the sultan and his government. 1846.

At the close of the examination of Jaffer, we found ourselves within a few miles of the Agincourt, and the captains having rejoined their respective ships, we bore away for the river Oya, it being the intention of the admiral to stand close along shore, to show the squadron to the astonished natives. The Iris was ordered to take the Phlegethon in tow, and a very unpleasant companion I found her; for scarcely had she been secured than the weather became thick and rainy, and the breeze increasing to a fresh gale from the S.W. quarter, brought up a considerable sea, and with difficulty the two ships were kept from contact. To add to the beauty of the position, we suddenly shoaled our water from fifteen to six fathoms, but hauling rapidly to the northward, soon deepened again, and at sunset last evening anchored off Tanjong Barram in twenty-two fathoms. From the great inequality of the soundings, this is de-

1846. cidedly a dangerous point to close with at night. From hence we sailed within a few miles of the coast towards Labuan, enjoying the prospect of the magnificent scenery, and this afternoon we anchored off the extensive shoal of Moarra, at the entrance of the river Brunè.

CHAP. III.

CHASE OF TRADING PRAHUS. — SQUADRON ENTERS THE BORNEO RIVER. — LETTER FROM THE SULTAN. — SCHEME OF TREACHERY. — PLAN OF THE OPERATIONS AGAINST BRUNÈ. — PROGRESS OF THE EXPEDITION. — COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES. — THE ENEMY'S BATTERIES. — CASUALTIES ON BOARD THE PHLEGETHON. — VALUE OF STEAMERS IN RIVER OPERATIONS. — THE CITY BATTERY SILENCED. — CAPTURE OF GUNS. — DESTRUCTION OF THE WORKS. — FALL OF BRUNÈ.

1846.

July 5. *July* 5.—RAIN and heavy squalls during the day from the N.W. Mr. Elliot, the master of the Agincourt, away sounding the passage across the bar, the admiral having decided to take the flag-ship into the river, if a channel could be found. In the afternoon five prahus were seen, with reefed foresails set, endeavouring, under cover of a heavy squall, to pass from Labuan to the main. One of these was overtaken by the boats sent in chase, and brought in, but released immediately by the admiral, when discovered to be a trading vessel.

July 6. *July* 6.—At daylight the signal was made to weigh, and to proceed into the Borneo river. The wind was light, and directly out. The Agincourt was taken in tow by the Spiteful; the Phlegethon going ahead to show the soundings, and by eight, A. M., the commander-in-chief had the satisfaction of seeing his flag-ship securely anchored within Moarra Island, having crossed the bar at the top of

1846. high-water, with twenty-seven feet on it, this depth extending over a space of a mile in width; the Iris and the other vessels worked in, and all were moored by noon. The captains of the squadron dined with the admiral, and at the time we were assembled on board, a large prahu was seen coming down the river, decked with flags, apparently containing some men of rank, as two handsomely dressed individuals were seated under a large yellow damask umbrella, surrounded by numerous attendants. The prahu paddled boldly alongside the Agincourt, and the gentlemen came on deck, and having declared themselves to be pangerans, or princes, sent by the sultan to *welcome* the commander-in-chief, delivered a letter from his highness, of which the following is a translation:—

Translation.

"This letter is from sultan Omar Ali Seffedin, who is sitting upon the throne of the kingdom of Borneo and its dependencies, together with the nobilities belonging to the said kingdom, and all the rajahs under him.

"We are happy to learn that our friend James Brooke, Esq., has arrived, and in consequence we send a small boat to meet him. Pangeran Muda Mohamed sends many compliments, and wishes to state some particulars about * a ship which lately

* Alluding to the arrival of her Majesty's ship Hazard, Commander Egerton, in the preceding March.

came to Borneo. When the news arrived in the city, within four or five hours afterwards the sultan ordered a boat with two pangerans, the chief of whom was pangeran Sora and pangeran Hassim. On arriving at the ship they met the captain, and on finishing their conversation with him, they requested leave to return, and the captain remarked, 'At eight o'clock to-morrow I shall come up and meet the sultan.' 1846.

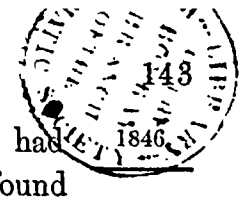
"The sultan was pleased to learn this, and waited two days without the captain coming, therefore he sent a boat with two pangerans, with a present of a bullock and fowls, and the provisions of the place. On arriving at the ship the captain would not receive them, and ordered them to retire, not allowing them to approach.

"On their returning to the city the sultan received the news, and was very sorry, as was likewise the pangeran Muda Mohamed, that the boats and presents of the sultan had not been received. A follower of the pangeran Budrudeen, by name Si Jaffer, whom the pangeran Muda Mohamed wished to detain, fled to the ship, and it was in consequence of this the captain did not receive the boat, because he was very angry. The pangeran Muda Mohamed, with many compliments, requests our friend not to believe any thing Si Jaffer may have stated. Even the sultan himself, our friend, cannot believe, without being certain of the facts from the other rajahs, the ministers and nakodahs, and the people in general.

1846. "With our compliments, we state our friend can consider the facts.

(Seal of) "SULTAN OMAR ALI.
"PANGERAN MUMIN.
"PANGERAN MUDA MOHAMED."

Having read the letter, which was countersigned by pangerans Muda Mohamed and Mumin, Mr. Brooke proceeded to examine the bearers, and having strong grounds for believing that they were impostors, and not men of rank as they represented themselves, and understanding, moreover, that they were commanded by the sultan to deliver a message to the admiral, to the effect, that though his Highness would be delighted to see him at the capital, he *could* not *allow* him to come up, attended by more than two small boats, Mr. Brooke recommended that they should be detained on board. This was accordingly done, and the arms and guns having been taken out of the prahu, she was secured astern for the night. It appeared evident to Mr. Brooke, that the whole proceeding was a scheme of the piratical party in power at Brunè, to get the admiral to trust himself with a small force amongst them, and that it was a repetition of the treacherous attempt, made some months previously, to secure the person of Commander Egerton. The letter itself, was a mere string of unmeaning Oriental phrases, and the seal of Muda Mohamed, who was known to be friendly to the English, had probably been obtained by force.



In the afternoon of this day, the admiral had visited the island of Cherimon, on which he found two large batteries not yet finished, and whilst examining this position, the master completed the survey of the narrow channel abreast of it, and buoyed it off. The greatest depth in the channel, at high-water, was thirteen feet, but the bottom was soft mud, and hopes were, therefore, entertained of being able to get both the "Spiteful" and "Hazard" over, they drawing fourteen feet and a half.

July 7. — This morning the captains of the squadron received the plan and details of the operations to be undertaken against the city of Brunè, should the sultan act hostilely against the steamers on their going up the river. My orders were to take the command of the gun-boats, seven in number, and manned by one hundred seamen. Soon after daylight the admiral shifted his flag to her Majesty's steam-vessel Spiteful, and proceeded up the river, with the Hazard and Royalist in tow. The Spiteful had been lightened of every spare article on board, and, by admirable management, was forced through the mud, at full speed, over a space of a hundred yards, with two feet less water than she drew. The Royalist followed, but the Hazard, less fortunate in warping, took the edge of the shoal, the channel being scarcely thirty yards wide, and remained hard and fast. July 7.

In the afternoon the Phlegethon returned, bringing orders that the marines and the rest of the

1846. party forming the expedition were to be embarked in that vessel at four the following morning, and to join the commander-in-chief with all despatch above the island of Cherimon, six miles distant.

Captain Johnstone and Sir William Hoste dined with me to-day, and we warmly discussed the probabilities of peace or war; and although Mr. Brooke had always stated that he believed the war and piratical party were ready and determined to resist us, under a false estimate of our real power, and an equally false idea of their own strength, I could hardly imagine that folly could go so far as to offer opposition to so large a force brought to the river by the commander-in-chief in person. I was sorry to find that my friend Hoste would not accompany us up the river; his orders were, to take the station off Labuan, and to look out for the Dædalus and Pluto, daily expected; however, as the gallant commander had only recently joined the squadron from England, if one vessel must perform that duty, it was reasonable to expect that it would be allotted to the Ringdove. I may also add, that her draught of water, being fifteen feet, was a decided drawback against her employment in river operations; and in this particular the advantage of such vessels as the Euridice and Modeste, constructed on the plan of rear-admiral the honourable George Elliot, must be very apparent.

Besides a document containing a statement of the particular duty assigned to each ship of the

squadron, the captains have also received from the commander-in-chief a programme of the general arrangements for the intended operations, which, being short, and drawn up with great perspicuity, cannot fail to be useful as a ready reference, if the forces of the sultan really intend to oppose our progress up the river. 1846.

July 8. — A fine bright morning. At four A. M. Captain Hope Johnstone and myself embarked on board the Honourable Company's steamer, Phlegethon, taking with us the detachment of marines, under Captain Hawkins; the rocket and field-piece party, and howitzers, under Lieutenant Paynter, assisted by Lieutenant Heath, with the seamen, small-arm men, under the immediate command of Captain Johnstone, and the gun-boats of the squadron under my own orders. At thirty minutes after seven we joined the commander-in-chief, inside the bar, off Cherimon Island, and went on board her Majesty's ship Spiteful to breakfast, at which time we received our final instructions. * July 8.

My orders were, to return to the Phlegethon and lead up the river to the city, distant twelve miles, taking the gun-boats in tow, and to prepare for action. The rocket and field-piece party also remained in the Company's steamer, and the following

* All endeavours to get the Hazard off had proved ineffectual, and as we steamed through the narrow channel, she lay fixed on the sand, with half her copper out of water.

1846. arrangements were made, under the direction of Lieutenant Paynter. The rocket-tubes, twenty-four and twelve pounders, six in number, were fixed on the bridge connecting the paddle boxes, and the howitzers, and field-pieces forward, ready to act on either bow. All the marines and small-arm men were on board the Spiteful and Royalist, the latter being in tow of the steam frigate. The whole number of bayonets was six hundred, viz.: — marines, 200, — Agincourt's seamen, 186, — Iris's seamen, 64, — Hazard's seamen, 50, — Ringdove's, 40, — Spiteful's, 40, — Royalist's, 20. The boats to land the party were the Spiteful's paddle-box boats, which held 130 marines; Agincourt's pinnace, and two cutters; Iris, two cutters; Ringdove, one cutter; Hazard, one cutter; Phlegethon, four cutters.

At half past nine, A. M., the signal was made to proceed, and away we went, telegraphing the soundings. At ten we suddenly lessened the water to *nine feet;* the Spiteful, two cables' lengths astern, drawing fourteen feet six inches; however, she shot out clear of the danger, and I sent my gig down to keep sounding close under the large steamer's bow. At half past ten, at a short turning of the river, which was here about half a mile wide, we got sight of four batteries, two of which were directly a-head, in a raking position, erected with much judgment, on a rising ground, where the course of the river suddenly changed at a right angle. The other two batteries were flanking ones, on either bank, but did not appear manned.

1846.

As we neared those a-head, the colours were hoisted (a chequered yellow and white flag), and the artillerymen, dressed in red, were observed standing, with lighted matches, ready for action. The river at this point was staked across, and we were anxiously sounding our way through the piles, when the enemy's fire opened at a distance of a thousand yards. The shot, round and grape, passed between our masts, over the vessel, and even beyond the Spiteful, but did not strike us. We immediately returned the compliment, with rockets and the pivot guns of the ship, the Javanese crew under that able officer, Mr. Ross, behaving admirably. After a quarter of an hour's cannonade, I shoved off in the gun-boats, ordering Lieutenant Patey to pull for the shore and storm the batteries. This was soon accomplished, for so true had been our fire from the steamer and gun-boats, that what little courage or resolution the enemy might originally have possessed soon evaporated, and the gallant crews had no further difficulty in forcing their way through the embrasures than was presented by the naturally strong position of the batteries. They were erected on a precipice, about eighty or a hundred feet in height from the brink of the river, and the pathway leading up to them may be said to have been nearly perpendicular. The flag was captured, and a skirmish took place between the leading party of our force and the rear guard of the artillerymen as they escaped into

1846. the jungle, which, at a few hundred yards' distance, skirted the land-side of the forts. The ordnance, three of which were brass, of great beauty, eighteen-pounders, with all the magazines and ammunition, were captured, without loss on our side. The guns, excepting those of brass, were spiked, and the magazines and ammunition destroyed; after which, I was directed by the admiral to return to the Phlegethon, which I did forthwith, and after passing two other batteries, the steamers, with the Royalist and gun-boats in tow, anchored half a mile below the city, and all hands went to dinner.

At half past one the expedition was again in motion, an ebb tide of three knots rendering our advance very slow. As the Phlegethon opened out round the point, the city battery, and the hill forts (the three together mounting eighteen guns), commenced firing. The first 32-pound shot passed through the paddle box, breaking part of the wheel, and, entering the galley amidship, killed the cook. This was followed by showers of grape and canister so well directed, that in the space of five minutes another man was killed and several wounded; our return fire subsequently upset the enemy's aim, and we pushed on without farther loss. We again shoved off in the gunboats to attack the batteries at close quarters, but the Phlegethon's fire had been a settler, and before we could reach the shore the artillery men fled in every direction; in-

deed nothing could be more contemptible than the defence made by these wretched Borneans; we had always understood that the Malays were a brave and determined race, and from the strength of their positions, the calibre and number of their guns, and the really efficient preparations which they had made, an average amount of courage would have greatly crippled our force before we could have reached the town; it is, however, probable that the rapid movement of the steamers directly at their forts, and the admirable arrangements made by the commander-in-chief for securing the immediate landing of an imposing force under cover of the rockets and gun-boats, completely paralysed the enemy from the first moment of our advance; whereas if the steamers had been kept back, and the brigs and Royalist, with the gun-boats had led the attack, it may be presumed that the enemy would have taken courage by the slowness of our progress, and our loss would probably have been considerable before our own batteries could have been brought into play. 1846.

I may here observe that nine grape-shots entered the iron side of the Phlegethon, below the water-line, abreast of the foremast, and had that vessel not been divided into compartments, she would probably have been sunk. The amount of the damage was not ascertained till the water was above the lower deck, and it was then discovered that the foremast compartment was full up to the hatches.

1846.

The navigation of the Borneo river is decidedly intricate, the soundings as well as the currents very irregular, and although the admiral had occupied several days in surveying and buoying off the passages so as to leave nothing to chance, yet it was found very difficult to prevent the Spiteful being thrown upon the sands, particularly as she rounded the sharp angle of the city reach, where the navigable breadth of the stream is scarcely fifty yards, and where she was so close to the shore as to sustain a fire of musketry from a party of the enemy in ambush amongst the brushwood.

As soon as the Spiteful and Royalist had taken up their berths abreast of the large battery *à fleur d'eau*, the marines were landed, and marched to occupy the heights above the sultan's palace, the batteries on which had been silenced and captured by the rocket and field-piece party under Lieut. Paynter. When I landed at the city battery I found it armed with ten brass guns, of large calibre; and I was amused at observing that the word "Iris" had been chalked in large letters upon every one of these beautiful pieces of ordnance. If this innocent endeavour to show that one of the crew of that ship had been first to enter the fortification were the work of one of the seamen, I give him credit for the quickness, and perhaps for the originality of the idea. The guns were Spanish, and elaborately ornamented; the longest measured fourteen feet six inches, cast in the time of Charles III.

of Spain, and was certainly the most beautiful specimen of workmanship I had ever seen, and quite worthy of being transported to England. Whilst examining it with Brooke, he remarked that he should like to be able to present it to the Yacht Club at Cowes, and see it placed on the terrace in front of the roads, — a good idea, and I hope to see it carried out. 1846.

On reporting myself to the admiral, he expressed himself satisfied with our proceedings, and observing that the batteries in our rear were again manned, he ordered me to drop down the river with the gun-boats to drive the people out, and destroy the defences. The performance of this service occupied me five hours, but no further opposition was offered; five batteries were only partially ruined, for I found that to destroy them completely would have been the work of days, from the great strength of their construction, uprights of immense piles having been firmly driven into the ground, and a parapet fifteen feet in width formed between them of solid earth, with substantial roofs above to protect them from rockets or musketry; the iron guns were spiked, and thrown down the precipices with broken trunnions, and the brass ordnance brought away — so ended the 8th of July; thirty-nine pieces of cannon, mostly of large calibre, fell into our hands, nineteen of which were brass. The sultan, his boasted army, and all the inhabitants had fled, not a native was to be found in the capital, and as the full moon rose over the desolate build-

1846. ings, she showed the white tents of the marines encamped on the heights in strong relief against the dark jungle beyond, and at the same time threw her rays over a city, which having flourished 500 years under Mohamedan rule, now fell before the arms of a Christian power.

CHAP. IV.

FLIGHT OF THE SULTAN. — EXPEDITION IN PURSUIT OF HIS HIGHNESS. — VILLAGE OF KABIRAN BATTU. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE MARCH. — CAPTURE OF A SIX-GUN BATTERY. — RETURN TO HEAD-QUARTERS. — RECOMMENCE THE EXPEDITION. — ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR. — VILLAGE OF PELONG. — ENCAMP AT MALŬT. — REACH DAMŪAN. — FIND IT EVACUATED BY THE SULTAN'S FORCES. — DESTROY THE MAGAZINES, AND BURN THE STOCKADE. — EXPEDITION REJOINS THE STEAMERS. — INHABITANTS RETURN TO THE CITY. — COMPLETE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RIVER BATTERIES — CHARACTER OF HAJJI SAMAN. — SIR THOMAS COCHRANE AND MR. BROOKE DISCOVER A LARGE COAL-SEAM. — SQUADRON LEAVES THE BORNEO RIVER. — ANCHORS AT LABUAN. — PROCEED TO THE NORTHWARD. — VISIT BUNDU. — DANGEROUS POSITION OF THE SQUADRON. — VISIT KIMANIS. — MANKABONG. — AMBONG. — CAPTURE A PIRATE PRAHU. — DESTROY THE PIRATE TOWN OF TAMPASSUK.

1846. July 9. *July* 9. — EARLY in the morning Mr. Brooke received intelligence from some of the prisoners taken yesterday, that the sultan, with his body-guard of 500 men, had retreated to the village of Damūan, which was reported to be a strong post, about thirty miles from the capital, where his highness was determined to make a stand, and fortify himself. I had previously been ordered to remain in the city, in command of the gun-boats, with a kind invitation from the admiral to live with him on board the Spiteful; but, on receiving this important intelligence, he immediately sent for me, and offered me the command of an expedition, to march into the interior and attack the sultan in his new position.

1846.

Mr. Brooke having volunteered to accompany me on this service, I felt more confidence in the result, as from his knowledge of the language, and firmness of character, he was sure to be most useful to me.

The force to be placed under my orders consisted of 160 marines, under Captain Hawkins, and 300 seamen, with eight lieutenants, and a proportionate number of junior officers. After all the arrangements were completed, Sir Thomas Cochrane, at my special request, permitted Lieutenant Vansittart to accompany me as my aide-de-camp; and the first lieutenant of the Spiteful, Lieutenant Newland, to reinforce the seamen's division with the small-arm men of that vessel, making altogether a body of nearly 500 men.

All hands were in high spirits at the prospect of a campaign in the interior, but the weather was most provokingly unpropitious, the rain having fallen almost incessantly for fourteen days, so that it did not require much foresight to prophecy in what state we should find the country; still as the guides which Mr. Brooke had procured assured him that the sultan and his large force had accomplished their retreat to Dumuan, we believed our party would not find the difficulties insurmountable. The idea of an expedition into the interior of a country into which no European had as yet penetrated was replete with excitement, and the hazardous nature of the undertaking, the prospect of an active chase of the sultan, and the hope of eventually *running into him* at his fortified post at

Damūan, excited a general feeling of enthusiasm amongst the officers and men composing the detachment. 1846.

July 10. — There had been heavy rain during the night, and heavy clouds still hung over the stream, when at day-light the signal was made for the boats to rendezvous alongside the Phlegethon, and shortly afterwards we commenced steaming up the river, having the gun-boats, nineteen in number, in tow. The depth of water allowed us to reach some miles beyond the city, when, being in one fathom only, the force was removed from the Phlegethon into the boats, and all being stowed away, we recommenced our ascent in two divisions. The commander-in-chief now gave me his final instructions, and on taking leave placed in my hand his own pocket compass, with the kind remark, that it might possibly be useful to me in the recesses of the jungle. July 10.

Immediately after this our difficulties commenced. We entered a narrow creek on the left bank, the boats making their way slowly amidst the intricacies of a winding stream, so narrow as to keep our pioneers, of which I had three cutters full under Lieutenant Heath, constantly at work cutting down the trees which obstructed our passage, and paddling, and tracking, and hauling to get a-head, almost dark from the thickness of the overhanging jungle, and the heat oppressive; but we went cheerfully to work, and at last, after being seven hours at it, gained a landing, and the marching-

1846. party disembarked. A body of marines, forty strong, under Lieutenant Alexander, Royal Marine Artillery, formed the advanced guard, and having a company of pioneers attached to them, was immediately put in motion. Mr. Brooke, myself, and my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Vansittart, with my coxswain and the interpreter, joined this division. The two guides, each under charge of a sentry, pointed out the narrow path leading through the jungle, into which we plunged forthwith. After a walk of twenty minutes in Indian file, much to our surprise our guides informed us that we were close to the village of Kabĭran Battu, where Hajji Hassim, an adopted son of the sultan, and one of the chief enemies of the English, had fled after the capture of the city.

On emerging from the jungle I threw out flanking parties and surrounded the largest building, erected in the Dyak style, upon lofty piles driven into the ground. The house had been deserted by the owners, but was full of valuable property secured in massive chests, also arms and ammunition both for great guns and small arms, magazines and several tin cases of fine Dartford powder, all ready for removal. In the upper story, a man and woman were discovered secreted amongst the mats, and from them we learned that the whole property belonged to Hajji Hassim, who two days previously, on a requisition from the sultan, had joined his highness at Damūan. Our male prisoner next informed us, that there was a battery in course of

erection, close at hand in the jungle, for the pro- 1846.
tection of the causeway leading to the house. I therefore ordered Lieut. Mathews, who commanded the seamen of the Iris and Royalist to reconnoitre, and he shortly returned with the report, that six pieces of brass ordnance of considerable dimensions were raised on an adjoining eminence in readiness for mounting. These I took possession of, and delivered over to the charge of Lieut. Patey, who, with a party from the gun boats, was to hold the village during our absence in the interior.

This service completed, our little army once more commenced its march from Kabĭran towards Damūan, the rain falling heavily, and before the rear-guard had cleared the village, we entered a marshy swamp, having apparently a broad buffalo path across it, through which we moved, knee deep in mud. As we slowly advanced, the swamp gradually deepened, the men occasionally up to their middles in water, floundering in the mud, and with difficulty keeping their ammunition dry. After struggling for an hour against so unpromising a road, and seeing in the distance no prospect of rising ground, and, being moreover, suspicious of our guides; I informed Mr. Brooke of my determination not to proceed further on *that course*, as I considered that under all the circumstances of our position, in an unknown country, and amidst hostile tribes, it would be imprudent to advance any distance into such a morass. I consequently ordered a retreat on Kabĭran, where we bivouacked for the

1846. night amidst myriads of musquitoes, and torrents of rain, which prevented all sleep either for officers or men. The sentries were posted, "Victoria" was the parole — the camp fires were lighted, and at any rate all were cheerful and looking forward with hope to better success on the morrow.

It was, however, destined that the evening should not pass over without some little amusement, for suddenly there was a cry of fire at the other extremity of the building under which we had endeavoured to find shelter from the deluge, and in a very few minutes a party of seamen were busily engaged on the summit of the roof detaching the layers of palm leaves, whilst seated crossed-legged at a gable end, I superintended the operations, having with much difficulty, by the assistance of my coxswain, perched myself on the elevated pinnacle, and in coat and epaulettes and enveloped in smoke I found the situation by no means agreeable. The fire was got under in twenty minutes, and we were again in repose. One of the officers whilst working on the roof, lost his footing, and sliding down the slippery matting, fell into the verandah below, but fortunately lighting on some soft materials was not much injured.

July 11. *July* 11. — The rain, which had not ceased to fall steadily during the weary night, suddenly stopped, and by seven o'clock was succeeded by the piercing rays of a Borneo sun. Two divisions were soon in march, with orders to examine the country round for a more passable road, and Lieut.

Mathews, accompanied by my aide-de-camp, advanced a few miles in a south-east direction, where they discovered a village; but here the pathways were quite impassable, from the torrents of the preceding night; and the guides were at the same time constant in their statements, by reference to the sun, that the town of Damūan was yet six hours distant. Lieut. Newland and Lieut. Heath were equally unsuccessful on the left flank; and it being now evident that the passage across this part of the country was everywhere breast-high in water, I reluctantly gave up all hopes of reaching the sultan's retreat by this route; and, being convinced that my proper course was to fall back upon head-quarters, and from thence to retrace our steps to the capital, where I might replenish provisions, and make a fresh start, I made known my opinion to Mr. Brooke, in which he entirely coincided. After destroying the magazines and ammunition, and burning all the property of Hajji Hassim, and conveying the brass ordnance, comprising six guns of Spanish manufacture, and of great beauty, into the paddle-box boats, I re-embarked all my force, and regained the main stream late in the afternoon. Here I found the commander-in-chief, with his flag in the Phlegethon, which little steamer was stuck fast, with her bowsprit fixed amongst the mangrove bushes, and her fore-yard snapped in two. 1846.

The admiral, very anxious about the expedition, had thought it probable, owing to the inclemency of the weather, I should be obliged to fall back,

1846. and he had therefore, very considerately, moved up to our aid, and arrived most opportunely.

At six P.M. we anchored off the city. The admiral approved of my proceedings, and gave me permission to arrange a second expedition, if Mr. Brooke's information as to a better route to Damūan should receive confirmation.

July 12. *July* 12. — Heavy and continued rain during the night, and showery during the morning. After performance of divine service, the day was given up to the expeditionary force to make preparations for recommencing the campaign on the following morning. After this we had a general inspection and muster, and I issued my orders for the embarkation and march.

During the afternoon the weather became finer. Pangeran Mumin, Muda Mohamed, and other friendly chiefs had an audience of the admiral. They were all remarkably well and handsomely dressed, but were evidently in a great state of alarm, and had with much difficulty been persuaded to return to the city from their retreat in the jungle. From them we learnt that the principal instigator to the barbarous murder of so many members of the royal family was an individual of low birth, but of considerable influence with the piratical party, named, Hajji Saman, who also, it appeared, had commanded the large forts which first opened fire on the steamers. The pangerans seemed to tremble at the name of this Hajji, and on being closely examined by Mr. Brooke, described him as a man.

of the worst character, but possessing great courage and determination. Of the sultan the two pangerans would say little beyond stating that he had retreated with his force into the interior, and had taken up a position at Damūan, accompanied by his son-in-law and several other pangerans. Muda Mohamed, who is the brother of the murdered Princes, Muda Hassim and Budrudeen, showed us his wounds, which were fearful, and how he escaped with life is surprising. The result of the interview was a determination on the part of Mumin to take up his quarters again in the city, and assisted by Muda Mohamed, to endeavour to persuade the inhabitants to return. 1846.

July 13.—Having received my final instructions from the commander-in-chief, which were to make every *reasonable* attempt to push my way to Damūan, and, if possible, capture the sultan, or at any rate, destroy his fortified position, I shoved off in my gig at day-light, and accompanied by Mr. Brooke, we joined the boats, nineteen in number as before, and commenced our ascent of the river. The detachment of marines carried sixty rounds in their cartouch boxes, the seamen thirty rounds, with a hundred rounds of spare ammunition for each bayonet in the boats. Four days' provisions were issued to each man, and carried in their havresacks. July 13.

On leaving the city, instead of proceeding several miles up the river as on the former occasion, we took the first large branch on the left bank, not

1846. a mile distant from the shipping, and continued to move up that stream in a south-westerly direction till noon, the depth for a few casts being four feet, just the launch's draught. At noon we entered the Damūan river, and half an hour afterwards pushed into a small creek, having mangrove swamps on either hand, with branches of large trees over-hanging, many level with the water's edge, requiring constant exertion on the part of the pioneers. The paddle-box boats were just enabled to make head, but the launch was shortly compelled to relinquish all attempts to advance further. The weather was now painfully sultry, and the wasps and musquitoes annoying. Several men were badly stung.

At one P. M. the leading boats effected a landing at a place which the natives called Pelŏng, and from them we learnt that there was a direct road from this village to Damūan, but that it would be a march of twelve hours. A closer inspection, however, showed us that a morass, rendered impassable by the continued rain, lay between us and the higher jungle ground. At this unpleasant juncture Mr. Brooke was assured, that by retracing our steps into the Damūan river, and then ascending it for a few miles, we should find another creek leading to the town of Malŭt, on the road to Damūan. Our boats were accordingly retracked to the creek's entrance, and then moved up the Damūan river, in itself so confined at this part, as to preclude our advance without the constant aid of our pioneers. At three P. M. we en-

tered the second creek, which was even more provokingly intricate than the last, and, finally, at sunset, after being ten hours paddling, poling, and tracking, we reached the edge of a *swamp*, which our guides informed us was the *quay* of Malŭt. 1846.

Let me here confess to have experienced a slight disappointment at such a termination to the maritime part of our expedition, and to have observed amongst the people, as the boats came up, a slight expression of disgust in their physiognomy. The country, so far as the eye could trace, was one sheet of water, terminating in a jungle, the nearest angle of which might be a quarter of a mile distant. To this point I determined to direct my steps, and accompanied by Mr. Brooke, Lieut. Vansittart, and an escort of forty marines under Lieut. Mansell, we stepped upon the beautiful quay, knee deep in mud, our object being to examine the country round for some spot of firm ground on which the party might encamp for the night. Meanwhile the rest of the people remained in the boats and went to dinner.

After half an hour's tramp through a detestable slough in the jungle, we reached the village of Malŭt; a few tolerable houses in a small open space, with some cocoa nut trees around. I immediately dispatched Vansittart to desire the marines and small-arm men to land forthwith, and to endeavour to get up to me before dark, leaving such of the gun-boats as had succeeded in penetrating the labyrinth of the creek to guard the

1846. spare ammunition. At this time the rain fell heavily, but the houses offered moderate shelter to the detachments as they arrived, and by seven P. M. I had the satisfaction of seeing all the force collected, and also of receiving a report from Lieut. Patey that the launch was only a mile from the place of debarkation, moored in the mangrove bushes, and in free communication with the other gun-boats.

Whilst the seamen and marines were marching up, a small herd of wild bullocks rushed across our path, one of which possessed of more curiosity than discretion, halted for a moment to examine the intruders on their domain, when a bullet from my rifle struck him dead on the spot. Calling the seamen of the "Iris" to secure the prize, the animal was shortly suspended by the aid of bamboos on the shoulders of forty stout fellows, and carried in triumph to the camp. The bullock was too small to be divided amongst the whole force, I therefore decided that as the captain of the "Iris" had *shot* it, the crew of the "Iris" should *eat* it — which was accordingly done. In the course of the evening we detained some of the natives, promising to protect their property and to reward them handsomely if they would guide us to the sultan's retreat. These men assured Mr. Brooke that his highness, with a large body guard, had passed up the river a week ago, and after blocking up the passage in his rear, had taken up his quarters at Damūan. I observed, however, that as we advanced, the number of the sultan's fighting men

gradually diminished, and instead of five hundred, they were at length reduced to one half. 1846.

We were now amidst a race called Kadyans. They seemed an inoffensive people, and far less savage in appearance than the Dyaks at Kanōwit. Our head-quarters were fixed in a small hovel, and having supped on an admirable steak from the slaughtered bullock, Mr. Brooke and myself resigned ourselves to the numerous insects which were joint tenants of the building. Fortunately the English rajah was proof against the musquitoes, but they incessantly persecuted me. The men passed a miserable night, and the rain continued as usual.

July 14. — At daylight the weather cleared up. My plans had been made for commencing the march into the interior at this time, but the waters on the lower ground had risen so much during the night, as to render access to the landing-place a difficult operation, and it was six, A.M., before Lieutenant Dunbar arrived with his detachment of blue jackets, which I had ordered to garrison the village during our absence. July 14.

In order to test the fidelity of our guides, they were left perfectly free during the night, and as they were still in the camp at day-light, we began the march with some confidence.

On quitting the village, half an hour's walk brought us to the termination of the jungle, and here we once more entered a swampy flat of long grass, breast-high, the beaten track through it

1846. being everywhere from two to three feet deep in mud; but the depth being uniform, and large forest trees in view on the opposite side, our whole force passed over in an hour, and a mile's tramp in the jungle brought us to the village of Tanjong, where we found a white flag suspended from the largest building, but the women and children, and greater part of the inhabitants had fled.

Here we learnt that all these spots of higher and cultivated land, surrounded by morasses, were termed "islands" by the natives. They were luxuriant in foliage, covered with fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and many shrubs and creepers of great freshness and beauty. There were also several houses, fitted up entirely as granaries, each built on the top of posts, about ten feet from the ground, having sliding doors at one end, through which the grain was carried. We found a large stock of rice everywhere, and apparently in good condition. Rigorous orders had been given to respect private property, as we passed through the different villages, which were well observed, and we continued our march, alternately through swamp and jungle, blazing* the paths in every direction, to secure our retreat, should the guides desert us.

About noon we came suddenly upon a larger building than any we had hitherto seen, erected close to a running stream, at the foot of a lofty

* Notching the trees with axes.

and well-wooded bank. The house was evidently new, and, on examination, found to have been lately inhabited. A strict search was instituted for arms and ammunition, and two shields were brought forth; the largest of which, five feet long, ornamented with gold figures, having an imperial crown on the top, supported by two lions not badly executed, was immediately recognised by Mr. Brooke as belonging to the sultan, the sword-bearer having carried it before his highness at the audience given last year to the admiral in the capital. The usual quantity of arms and ammunition was found, and several exquisitely worked mats, thirty feet in length, with furniture to correspond, — the whole arrangement of the interior giving evidence that the sultan had lately been the occupant. 1846.

Observing that no injury was done to private property, several of the natives joined us, and offered their services as guides, and they assured Mr. Brooke that the sultan had only moved across the river, some miles distant, to another position, more difficult of access. We accordingly pushed on without loss of time, once more buoyed up with the hope that the sultan had determined to make a stand.

On arriving at the river, which was about thirty yards wide, we found the bridge three feet under water, and, owing to the strength of the stream, quite impassable. The pioneers began at once to cut down the largest trees which were close to the

1846. water's edge, and three of them falling at the same time directly across to the opposite bank, a compact bridge was soon formed, and well knitted together by the creepers. This service was specially under the charge of Lieut. Heath, and was well executed, the Javanese seamen working admirably. On my calling for volunteers to swim the river, one of the carpenter's crew, named William Burchet, of the Iris, leapt in with his heavy axe, and succeeded in crossing.

The whole force soon passed over, when we continued our march amidst a swampy jungle, with thicker underwood than we had previously experienced. Here our guides, pointing to some cocoa-nuts and palm-trees in the distance, informed us that amongst them we should discover the sultan's position. Just before reaching this secluded spot, the natives rushed into the Bush, and our whole party advanced; and, on gaining the open country, we found ourselves directly in face of a large and isolated building, standing on piles, with a rivulet ten feet broad passing in its rear, and the country round completely flooded. A glance at the desolate appearance of the place showed us at once that the enemy had decamped. It had been evacuated probably the day before by the sultan.* Magazines of powder, ammunition for guns of different calibre, and cartridges for

* Mr. Brooke subsequently received information that the sultan and his guard, with several pangerans, had only evacuated this position a few hours before we reached it.

musketry, admirably made, were found in considerable quantity, and one brass-swivel gun. 1846.

It will be unnecessary for me to dwell on the great disappointment of our whole force, after surmounting the difficulties of the march, to find that the enemy had cowardly retreated without a shadow of resistance. But this may also be accounted for by the panic which had become universal amongst the Borneans since the rapid and successful movements of the admiral on the capital. Having burnt the place to the ground, the whole force recrossed the river, and, after a seven hours' march, encamped on the rising ground on the left bank of the Damūan. The night, as usual, was one of misery — myriads of musquitoes, no wind, and the rain falling in a continued sheet.

July 15.—We commenced our return march to Malŭt at an early hour, Mr. Brooke entirely agreeing with me, that it would be altogether impracticable to proceed farther into the interior in search of the sultan, as it was evident he had no intention to show fight, and the lesson we had already given his highness would have demonstrated to the princes and people both our determination and our power. As the rear guard passed out into the swamp, the sultan's house with all his property and all the adjoining buildings, were set fire to, and burnt to the ground, the flames of which, from the great extent of ground they covered, must have told the tale of destruction to the wild tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges from which we July 15.

1846. were distant only a few miles, and must also have thrown a light into the recesses of the deepest jungle where, doubtless, his highness had ensconced himself and his cowardly followers, inwardly cursing his folly in having listened to the advice of Hajji Saman, and firing on the British flag. Passing through Tanjong, which was also burnt to the ground (the natives having broken faith after my sparing it the previous day), we reached Malŭt late in the evening, where I found the garrison all well. The water in the creek had fallen nearly four feet, and the gun-boats had been obliged to drop into the river. The fear of the drying up entirely of the stream and thus destroying the line of communication with Brunè, had been a cause of deep anxiety to me, as I was well convinced that we had ascended much higher than the common source, owing to the constant rains having increased the freshes. It was therefore with great satisfaction that I found the smaller boats in the proper bed of the stream. We bivouacked for the night at Malŭt, and had the inexpressible luxury of drying our clothes, of lighting the camp fires under a clear sky, and of enjoying a wholesome repast from the flesh of four oxen, which the foraging party succeeded in killing just before we reached the place of our encampment.

July 16. *July* 16.—At four A. M. we commenced our march to the boats. The embarkation occupied three hours, the launches and pinnaces, owing to the rapid fall of the waters, being now two miles

from our first place of landing. We reached the main stream without difficulty, and very soon had the pleasure of meeting Sir Thomas Cochrane, who was pulling up in his galley, accompanied by Captain M'Quhae, of the Dædalus, which ship had arrived at Labuan on the 13th. The admiral was amused at the figure and costume in which Mr. Brooke and myself presented ourselves to him, unshorn for four days, covered with mud, with a rig unchanged during this period, and the skin pealed off our faces from exposure alternately to rain and sun. 1846.

Though the sultan had evaded our grasp owing to his own cowardice, and the cowardice of his followers, I had the satisfaction of reporting to the commander-in-chief, that we had this time accomplished our march on Damūan, and had captured and destroyed his stronghold, with all the arms and ammunition; and Mr. Brooke also assured Sir Thomas that he anticipated the best results from the expedition, as it would prove to the country at large that we *could* advance into the interior, however the elements might be against us, and punish the evil disposed whenever we thought proper, and would also convince the hostile pangerans of the impossibility of resisting the power of the English. The admiral expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the result, and as the country was entirely a new field, desired me to write him officially full details of the expedition.

We reached the city in the afternoon, at which

1846. time only twenty of our party were sick; all returned in safety and no accident occurred, and it was with real satisfaction that I could publicly state that during the six days which were occupied in the double expedition, I had no complaint of straggling or misconduct. Certainly the enemy offered no further opposition to our advance than by cutting down trees to block up the Damūan river, but the constant inclemency of the weather, and the discouraging circumstances of continuous marches in swamp and jungle, knee deep in mud, constantly wet to the skin with no possibility of sleep at night, was trying to a body of seamen placed in so novel a position, and their cheerfulness under these annoyances was very gratifying. The officers worked together with a will, and gave me every assistance; still, without the advantage of Mr. Brooke's advice and presence, I believe we should have found it almost impossible to reach Damūan, and I saw quite enough of the amiable disposition and firm character of my companion to impress me with the highest opinion of him, and to make me hope that I might again have the opportunity of acting with him in his mighty efforts for the regeneration of Borneo.

Lieut. Vansittart, as my aide-de-camp, had been most useful to me, and was always punctual to a moment to present himself at head-quarters, whilst on all occasions I found the talents and activity of Lieut. Heath of great service to the expedition generally.

Our party was so numerous that I cannot, as I should wish to have done here, record my thanks to each officer by name, but I hope on some future occasion to have again the pleasure of meeting many of the lieutenants, mates, midshipmen, second masters, and naval cadets, who so cheerfully aided me on this trying march, and whose progress through the service I shall always watch with interest. 1846.

July 17.—Heavy rain. The inhabitants are gradually returning to the city, bringing their goods and furniture from the jungle. Received several bullocks, each weighing about 300 weight, and price eight dollars, or one pound fifteen shillings. The commander-in-chief and Mr. Brooke busily engaged in making arrangements with pangeran Mumin and Muda Mohamed about the government. I received orders from the admiral to destroy and level the river batteries, a work of great labour, as they had been constructed with much skill. Two of them were twenty feet in thickness, and the large uprights strongly driven into the ground. In the afternoon the marines and small-arm men returned to their respective ships still at anchor off Moarra Point, Lieut. Alexander, with a small detachment of marines, remaining on the sultan's heights, and the gun-boats under my command being attached to the Spiteful. July 17.

July 18.—During this forenoon I completed the destruction of the river batteries, and threw the remainder of the guns, after breaking off the trun- July 18.

1846. nions, down the precipices into the stream. A flotilla of Borneo gun-boats, sent by Mumin, returned to the city with the wives and children of Hajji Saman, but that chieftain, after witnessing the capture of his family, had managed to escape to sea, thus leaving them to their fate; a despicable act, and not usual amongst Asiatics especially. Hajji Saman appears, however, to be a resolute man; he commanded the large river batteries which first opened on the Phlegethon, and is considered to have been one of the principal advisers of the sultan in all his late acts of hostility against the English. His house in the rear of the battery was destroyed by a division of our seamen under Lieut. Paynter, and it was whilst his family were removing towards the coast that the native gun-boats captured them.

The city this evening appeared crowded with the returning inhabitants; all was life and movement, and confidence completely restored. This, in itself speaks volumes in favour of the policy of Sir Thomas Cochrane. The band seemed also to be a source of much amusement to the natives, who hovered round the steamer in their canoes, during the whole of the time it was playing.

July 19. *Sunday, July* 19.—After church pangeran Mumin, Muda Mohamed, and the chief men now in the capital, came on board the Spiteful, and a proclamation from the commander-in-chief, translated into the Malay language, was read to them by Mr.

Brooke, the purport being, that if the sultan would return and govern his people justly, abstain from acts of piracy and keep his agreement with the British government hostilities would cease, but on the other hand, if the same atrocious system was again carried on when the ships left the coast, the admiral would return speedily and burn the city to the ground. 1846.

At two P.M. the assembly broke up; immediately after which the Spiteful, having the Royalist in tow, steamed out from the city reach, the Phlegethon, with the gun-boats in tow, leading the way. The same good fortune which had befriended us on the day of arrival did not continue, as the Spiteful, suddenly shoaling to two fathoms when abreast of the upper battery, stuck fast in the sand before the engines could be reversed, and several hours elapsed ere we were enabled to heave her off.

July 20.—The Spiteful and Phlegethon weighed early in the morning, and steamed down the river, the gun-boats proceeding under sail with a fresh wind from the northward. The large steamer was forced over the mud at the bar, off Cherimon Island, as on her ascent, and the same afternoon the commander-in-chief rehoisted his flag in the Agincourt, and I rejoined the Iris, after an absence of twelve days. I was sorry to find that Lieutenant Mathews, five of the midshipmen, and twenty-four of the seamen who had been engaged in the land expedition, were on the sick list, from fever and ague, but the surgeon reported the cases to be light. Mr. July 20.

1846. Jossling and Mr. Rathbone, midshipmen, both attentive young officers, were also unwell.

July 21. *July* 21. — The admiral and Mr. Brooke were absent all day in the galley, exploring the main land for coal, and returned highly satisfied with the result of their researches, a large vein having been discovered nearly opposite the island of Pilungan, and about six miles from the Moarra anchorage. From its position and dip, it is probable that this is a continuation of the seam which runs by the Kiangi stream, and may extend, under the sea, to the strata on Labuan. The coal appeared excellent in quality, a perpendicular strip, nearly fourteen feet in height, cropping out only a mile from the beach, from which large specimens were knocked off by a crow-bar and brought on board the Agincourt. The admiral is indefatigable in his labours, and this great discovery must eventually be of the highest importance, should the favourable results, which Mr. Brooke is so sanguine in anticipating, from the late decisive measures of our chief, ever really take place, and this rich and magnificent country be opened to the commercial enterprise of Great Britain. From the description given of the great facility of access to this coal, it will probably not cost more than seven or eight shillings a ton to stack it on Moarra Point; whilst coal at Singapore is thirty-two shillings a ton, at least; frequently, indeed, above that sum.

July 22. *July* 22. — A general memorandum was issued by the commander-in-chief this morning, to the of-

ficers, seamen, and marines of the squadron, conveying his thanks to all under his command, for the alacrity, zeal, and attention with which they had carried out the service, recently brought to a successful termination. And with respect to the land expedition, Sir Thomas Cochrane remarks, "that he has been gratified to hear from Captain Mundy, that the large detachment placed under his command, and sent into the interior, conducted themselves, in a situation altogether novel to them, and in which they had much fatigue and inclement weather to contend against, with cheerful alacrity, and with a subordination that would have done credit to them as old campaigners." This order was satisfactory to us all, particularly as Sir Thomas Cochrane does not frequently give praise. 1846.

July 23. — The squadron weighed at day-light, and stood across the channel for Labuan, the Agincourt having been taken in tow by the Spiteful, and safely brought across the flats, with only a few feet water more than her draught. At sunset we anchored in Victoria Bay, which appears to be a good and secure harbour. The Dædalus, Iris, and Ringdove, against a fresh breeze, worked close up to its head, and then ran out again to join the flag. July 23.

The grassy and cleared plain on which, it is supposed, stood the town or village, erected by the English fugitives from Balambangan, in 1775, is lined with fir trees, which extend, in an avenue, along the brink of the sea. The general effect of

1846. the view is pleasing and lively ; and the trees in the interior appear to be of large size.

July 24. *July* 24. — I went early on board the Phlegethon to join the admiral, who, accompanied by Mr. Brooke, proposed an excursion round the island, for the purpose of examining the water-courses and coal strata. Shortly after we had started, whilst steaming at full speed along the southern shore, the vessel struck on a sunken rock, but passed on into deep water again: a boat was immediately lowered, and a small patch, not down on Belcher's chart, was discovered, having only six feet upon it. The exact position having been ascertained, we proceeded to the south-west point, where the admiral and party landed, and passed a few hours in exploring for water and coal; both were certainly found, but in very small quantities, and though the water was fresh and good, its quantity was, probably, dependant on the seasons.

We lunched off some good oysters, which were discovered on a small rock, round which the ibis and starlings gathered in great numbers. Having re-embarked at noon, we continued our course round Labuan, and got back to the squadron at sunset.

July 25. *July* 25. — At daylight the squadron weighed with a light favourable breeze, and passing through Victoria harbour, proceeded by the eastern channel to sea. This passage had been closely surveyed by the commander-in-chief, and a depth of five fathoms made out directly across, and, though rather in-

tricate, this was the second time that the Agincourt had been brought safely through by Mr. Elliot. At noon, the signal was made, that there would be an opportunity of sending letters for England by the Spiteful, and shortly afterwards, that steamer was en route for Singapore with the admiral's dispatches. The squadron then bore up, and continued its course along shore, the small vessels ahead telegraphing the soundings. The navigation of this part appeared somewhat dangerous, — the water was clear, the depth very uneven, and the coral reefs could, at times, be distinctly traced on the bed of the sea beneath. The weather was delightful, and the country abreast of us most inviting and picturesque. Close in with the surf we could observe numerous native prahus stealing along, still half afraid of the ships of war, though confidence had been greatly restored by our sparing the city of Brunè. 1846.

At sunset, the squadron anchored off the island of Tiga, immediately after which, the Ringdove made the signal that she had grounded on a reef; boats were sent to her assistance, and, in a couple of hours, she was hove off, without damage, the sea being fortunately smooth.

July 26. — After church I went on board the Phlegethon to join the admiral and Mr. Brooke, and the steamer weighed and proceeded in shore between Pulo Tiga and Point Kalias, a passage never before tried, but which had been sounded the previous evening. At two we anchored in nine July 26.

1846. feet of water, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and close to an extensive fishing establishment. We observed several canoes hovering round; but none would approach us: so, without guides, we divided our party, and in the steamer's boats pulled towards the entrance of a small river. After crossing the bar, we found ourselves in a large basin of water, apparently like a lake, and with no signs of a continuance of the stream inland. We pulled towards the most distant line of palms, and had made three or four miles, when a large canoe suddenly shot out from the mangroves, and, being hailed by the interpreter, came alongside. Mr. Brooke, with the astonishing aptitude which he possesses of making himself understood by these savages, whose knowledge of the pure Malay language is absolutely nothing, soon quieted their fears, and, moreover, ascertained that the river from which their canoe had just emerged was called Bundu, and was quite an insignificant stream; but that the rivers of Mambakut and Kimanis, to the eastward, were large, and inhabited by a numerous people.

The admiral endeavoured to persuade one of these men to return to the Phlegethon, and to pilot her to these places he had named. This, however, he did not seem inclined to do, and, after presenting him and his half-dozen companions with some biscuit and tobacco, he was dismissed, when he forthwith paddled away quickly towards the bushes. Very shortly afterwards, however, either taking courage, or, perhaps, surprised be-

yond measure at receiving a welcome present in provisions from the white strangers, instead of captivity or ill-usage, which he probably calculated on when first he fell into our power, he was seen to relax in his speed, then to face about, and shortly after to paddle as quickly after our boats as he had previously done from them; and, as we were slowly wending our way under sail with a light breeze, our wild friends were soon a-beam, and, without farther preface or parley, accompanied us alongside the steamer, and came on board. When informed that the large ships were outside, and again asked to accompany us as pilot, and told that his canoe would be taken care of with all his people till the next day, he could not make up his mind to such an undertaking, and we, therefore, again dismissed him, with the assurance that the natives had nothing to fear from the English if they were not pirates, and that whenever they saw any European vessels, they might go to them with safety, taking with them fish, vegetables, or any thing they might have to exchange for other goods. 1846.

From this man Mr. Brooke managed to procure the names, position, and character of all the rivers as far north as Ambong, twenty in number, and on our return on board they were placed on our chart, and thus became known for the first time to the European. I believe that Sir Edward Belcher has being surveying this part of Borneo; but he would probably find a difficulty in ascertaining the

1846. correct native names. This native informed us that a large ship had been some time on the coast, but had not communicated much with the shore. This must have been the Samārang, and owing to the unsettled state of the country, probably Sir Edward Belcher has abstained from going up any of the rivers, and we shall be the first in the field.

July 27. *July* 27. — At daylight I went on board the Phlegethon to join the commander-in-chief, who proposed steaming along a large bay in shore of Pulo Tiga, whilst the squadron went outside the island, the rendezvous being near Gaya. We passed between Point Kalias (off which a reef of rocks extends N. N. E. two miles) and Pulo Tiga, in ten fathoms, and, after steaming about twenty-two miles, anchored close in the shore off the river of Kimanis, and instantly proceeded across the bar, on which we found two feet water and a little surf. We entered immediately into *fresh water*, and after pulling up the prettiest little stream imaginable, about 100 yards wide, for two miles and a half, we reached the picturesque village of Kimanis; the houses, gardens, tropical plants, orchards, and ornamented ground proving a state of civilisation quite surprising; and the quantities of cattle, poultry, and stock of various kinds showing a degree of plenty and comfort we had not before witnessed. We were received by the orang-kaya and his people in a neat apartment overhanging the river; and a goodly collection of mats and pillows being spread, and cocoa-nut milk fresh

from the tree offered, we commenced a *business* conversation. 1846.

These people had heard of the capture of the capital, and were naturally alarmed at our arrival; but nothing leading us to believe that they were a piratical race, we gave the chiefs a few presents, and took our leave, promising to pay them another visit shortly, and to purchase bullocks for the squadron, of which they said there were many in their pasture land. All these men were armed to the teeth with krises, spears, and the large kampelan or double-handed sword; but they had no fire-arms.

On an eminence near us we observed a picturesque tomb lately erected. The chief informed us that it contained the bodies of the rebel princes Usop and his brother, who, last year, were put to death by the sultan's order. One of the by-standers informed me that they were both strangled in the apartment adjoining our room, and they met their ends quietly and with resignation when the sultan's firman was shown to them. The mode of execution for state offences is simple and dignified: a thick musquito-net is given to the prisoner, in which he wraps his person, and then, all prepared, he seats himself on the ground, gives the signal, upon which the fatal cord is attached, and death is instantaneous.

I had heard much during the last month of this pangeran Usop; his character seems to have been radically bad, and his detestation of Europeans un-

1846. changeable; whilst his ambition led him to commit any act of villany, provided it carried him nearer to the throne, to which he aspired on the death of the present sultan, though the rajah Muda Hassim was the acknowledged and rightful heir.

These princes had fled to Kimanis, and endeavoured to hoist the standard of rebellion there, but, failing, were made prisoners, and by *return of post* came the death-warrant, signed by the sultan, and countersigned by rajah Muda Hassim and by the pangerans Muda Mohamed and Budrudeen. The paper was shown to Mr. Brooke, and we were all surprised at the form and regularity of the proceeding — the four large seals above, then a short history of the rebellious acts of the pangerans, and (what was more curious) a paragraph, in this document, stating, that the sultan had now made a treaty of friendship with the queen of England, and that the English would assist him in burning their towns if they screened these traitors convicted of piracy. This official instrument was dated from the city of Brunè, in October, 1845. What a change had a few short months made in the career of the four who had signed the warrant! The sultan, driven from his last position, a fugitive in the jungle, — Muda Hassim and Budrudreen murdered by the said sultan, — and Muda Mohamed imbecile from wounds received at the hands of his sovereign!

We returned to the Phlegethon highly gratified by our reception at Kimanis, and immediately

weighed and continued our cruise to the northward. 1846.

Whilst steaming along the shore, we observed the squadron apparently performing some manœuvres which were unaccountable. We accordingly steered direct towards the ships, then just hull down. On getting on board we found that the Ringdove, whilst leading, had run upon a coral reef, about ten miles N. N. E. of Pulo Tiga, where she remained bumping for two hours before the boats of the squadron could heave her off. The Agincourt, on rounding to, under all studding sails, had also grounded amongst the coral, but her weight carried her over, and she anchored in fourteen fathoms, with three fathoms close astern; she weighed again from this dangerous position, and a second time bumped over the bed before she found a secure berth. The Dædalus and Iris both rounded quickly to, and anchored safely in five fathoms, a heavy swell on at the time. Last year the squadron had passed near the same ground without discovering danger, certainly it is a navigation trying to the nerves.

July 28.—At an early hour I went on board the Phlegethon, and steamed in towards the large Gaya island. Found that the beautiful bay marked on the chart had no existence, the coast being at this particular part nearly a straight line. Observed the squadron under weigh standing along the land. Anchored about half a mile from shore in two fathoms, and learnt from the natives that there was July 28.

1846. no passage for vessels between Gaya and the main. Weighed and stood out, and afterwards paralled to the coast, running for the river Mankabong, off which we anchored in two fathoms water, 100 yards from the bay, over which the surf was breaking at noon. The squadron anchored at the same time.

Mr. Ross went ahead in his gig into the river, distant half a mile. The admiral, Mr. Brooke, Mr. Walter, and myself, followed in the second barge crossing the bar in eight feet water.

The river is about a hundred yards wide at the entrance, and, after ascending it a quarter of a mile, it branches out in various directions, amongst islets of mangrove-trees, giving the appearance of a vast salt-water lake, mountain-ranges being in the back-ground. We took the wrong branch, and shortly ran the barge ashore on a mud bank, off which we got with some difficulty, and our whole party then moved into the gig, and proceeded through a dirty inlet to a few wretched houses, erected in the mud on piles. Here we found the orang-kāya, or chief, a stout and well-featured man, who informed us that no European had ever been up to the town before. He also told us that the country about Mankabong was populous, and the people very desirous of cultivating friendship with the English. He gave us three dozen fowls in exchange for a few pieces of cloth, and afterwards escorted us to the main branch of the river; from whence we had a distant view of the larger towns,

but the whole character of the place was very inferior to Kimanīs; it is, moreover, a salt water river. When we first showed ourselves at the entrance, all the natives fled with fear; but the *white* flag and the black crew of the Phlegethon gave them confidence, and long previous to our quitting the river, the canoes were numerous, skimming and darting past our heavy barge in every direction, all with something which they wished to barter. We found no fresh water in any part, and returned on board at sunset. 1846.

July 29. — Went on to Ambong: cattle had been purchased at this place last year, and Sir Edward Belcher had only left it two months ago, having procured every thing he wished. He also had obtained the assistance of pilots to help him in his surveys of the coast; and the admiral was, therefore, particularly desirous to make them suitable presents, and take from them as much live stock as possible. We reached the beautiful bay at noon, and what was our surprise to find only the ruins of the flourishing town described by Belcher. The story was soon told. The orang-kaya came down from the hills, where a new village was in the course of building, four miles inland, on a place capable of defence, and from him we learnt, that ever since his people had shown a wish to be friendly with the English, the Illanun pirates, who had established themselves on the sea coast, about ten miles to the northward, had sworn vengeance against them; that several actions had taken place during the last July 29.

1846. year, without decisive results, but that a fortnight ago, strong detachments of these rascals had come in a fleet of piratical prahus, had killed several of their people, captured and destroyed their town, and driven them to the jungle, declaring that the same ruin should be dealt out to every other place which might wish to trade with Europeans. Depositions were taken immediately; guides given to us; and rumours were afloat, that our indefatigable chief would soon give the Illanuns of Tampassuk a sight of the Agincourt.

July 30. *July* 30.—The day occupied with the market on shore. Numerous head of first-rate cattle exchanged hands for English calico; the beef thus procured by the purser standing the British government about one penny three farthings per pound. Vegetables also very good. Surely this snug anchorage ought to be patronised. In China, India, or the Straits, the ship's company had never seen such meat.

July 31. *July* 31.—On the morning of the 31st the signal was made to "prepare boats for service," and the squadron got under weigh, and the Phlegethon leading, away we went towards the pirate retreat. As we rounded the nearest promontory, with a strong breeze, we observed a large prahu, (which Mr. Brooke immediately recognised, from its peculiar build, to be a war-boat of the Illanuns) pulling for their lives, towards the entrance of the Tampassuk river. But what could the pirate, with his fifty oars do against steam? The

Phlegethon soon got between him and the shore, three boats were sent after him, and possession taken without resistance, for formidable as these pirates are, from their number, and ferocity, no wonder they were appalled at the sight of the squadron, now before them. The boat was sixty feet long, and carried one long twelve pounder, and two brass, six pound swivels. She was rigged for sixty oars, with regular boarding nettings, but had only twenty men and the captain on board; the stern sheets being occupied by a large bier, on which was placed a massive teak coffin, handsomely ornamented. 1846.

When the chief was brought prisoner on the quarter-deck, and asked to what nation he belonged, and why he was so crowded with arms (she was full of Kampelans, *i. e.* large double-handed swords, spears, and krises), he said at once,

"I am an Illanun and a pirate chief. I sailed from hence with four other vessels on a cruise. One of the officers died, and with a portion of my crew I am now bringing him to his home for decent burial."

On being asked if the officer died a natural death,

He replied, "Yes."

Orders were then given to open the coffin, when lo, there lay the remains of a body evidently slain in battle, or, after a desperate struggle, but a few days before. A large sabre cut extended across the forehead, and the chest and thighs were also

1846. desperately maimed. The pirate chief now became so enraged at this exposure, that he boldly stated he had told a lie, and admitted that they had had an engagement with some of the Balanini war-boats, which they had driven off, but an officer being killed, he was, according to their custom, brought back for interment. It was about this time that a Spaniard who had been released from slavery by Sir Thomas Cochrane on his visit to Brunè last year, and who was now on board the Phlegethon, recognised among the crew the man who had made him prisoner, and who had murdered the master of the Spanish vessel to which he belonged, in resisting the pirate's attack; and shortly afterwards, on examining the prahu, two other Spaniards came forward, declaring that they had been taken off the Manilla coast, and had since been compelled to labour as slaves on board the pirate prahus.

Orders were consequently given to handcuff the chief and all his crew, an indignity to which the proud Illanun could not tamely submit, for no sooner did he discover the nature of the directions given, than, quickly raising his fist, he endeavoured to strike Mr. Ross a blow on the face, and the next moment jumped overboard, a movement immediately followed by all his people; desperate were their efforts to gain the shore, before a boat could be manned, but it was otherwise ordained; all again were brought on board, and, after much resistance, put in irons. In the after-

noon, the admiral and Mr. Brooke went on shore, protected by the armed boats of the Agincourt, and, during an interview which they had with Sa Tabok, the Illanun rajah, acquainted him that they were quite aware that, in defiance of the arrangements entered into last year, the people had continued to carry on their piratical atrocities, and had further attacked and pillaged the peaceful town of Ambong, on account of the inhabitants having furnished supplies to an English ship of war. Yet, notwithstanding this breach of their engagement, the admiral was still anxious to afford another opportunity of amendment, and would, therefore, give them twenty-four hours to consider; at the expiration of which time, if the rajah and chiefs did not come on board the Agincourt, and give ample assurances of future good conduct, the place would be attacked, and totally destroyed. 1846.

The Illanun chief frankly admitted that he had broken his promises, and even produced the document, which in plain words told him, that if the community of Tampassuk continued to pirate it would be destroyed, yet he would not positively declare, whether or not he would visit the Agincourt, and renew his engagements, though assured by the admiral and Mr. Brooke that, whatever might be his decision, he should at any rate be relanded in safety.

The following is the document alluded to, translated from the Malayan:—

1846. "The seal of the rajah laut (admiral), who guards the seas, who fosters trade, and punishes pirates; this order comes to the people of Tampassuk and Pandassan, to tell them, that if any of the Illanuns living there should pirate in future, it will be contrary to the commands of the rajah, Muda Hassim, and the English admiral will come with all his ships, and utterly destroy the pirates."

This was dated in August, 1845; and August, 1846, found the commander-in-chief true to his word.

August 1. *August* 1.—No sign of submission being shown, Captain M'Quhae, of the Dædalus, with a force of 250 seamen and marines, was sent into the river, with orders to destroy the war prahus and canoes, and burn the town, unless the chiefs offered terms of submission. At three, P.M., a continued line of flame and smoke showed us that all attempts to enter into pacific arrangements had failed, and that the work of destruction had commenced. Just at this time I landed with the admiral, and soon learnt from Captain M'Quhae that his endeavours to enter into communication with the Illanun chiefs had been unsuccessful, and the place having been entirely deserted, he had burnt the war prahus and principal buildings, according to orders. Whilst this conflagration was proceeding, we could see the rascals in the distance brandishing their spears in defiance, and the chiefs on horseback at the edge of

1846.

the jungle slowly moving backwards and forwards, watching the ruin of their stately dwellings, and, as darkness approached, the yells of these savages might have been heard for miles in every direction. Meantime another expedition to the principal station of the pirates in the river Pandassan, ten miles to the N.E. of Tampassuk, was placed under my command, and arrangements were made for carrying it into effect the following day. My orders were to endeavour to enter into an arrangement with the chiefs, but failing in the attempt, to attack and utterly destroy this nest of sea-robbers, proceeding inland for that purpose, as far as practicable, and, if feasible, to march across the country, and thus form a junction with the other division acting at Tampassuk.

Aug. 2.—In compliance with my orders received last night I embarked on board the Phlegethon at day light, in which vessel the commander-in-chief had hoisted his flag, and, with the gun-boats of the Iris and Ringdove in tow, we immediately weighed, and proceeded to the entrance of the Pandassan river, distant ten miles, and anchored off the bar at eight A. M. Taking the command of the expedition, I left the steamer immediately, and crossing the bar in four feet water, commenced pulling up for the town of Pandassan. This place had long been celebrated as one of the notorious haunts of the Illanuns, and was in every respect similar to the sister town of Tampassuk. The total force em-

1846. ployed, including forty marines, was one hundred and fifty men, exclusive of the Javanese crew under Mr. Ross. Lieutenants Heath and Norcock commanded the division of seamen, and Lieutenant Alexander the marines.

The river at the entrance is about four hundred yards wide, with a beautiful bank, reminding me much of Mount Edgecombe, clothed in verdure and studded with large trees, and rising gradually from the brink of the stream.

The water in the river is salt, with mangroves and nipa palms on either side, the magnificent mountain of Kina Ballow in the distance showing to great advantage. After rowing up for a few miles in deep water, we entered a short creek to the left, where we had just room for our oars to pass. Our guides informed us that the town of Pandassan was at the head of this piece of water, and in half an hour we effected a landing at the first large building, and I was in the act of sending out advance parties to reconnoitre the country, when to my surprise the commander-in-chief appeared in person, not with any view of taking the command out of my hands, but from a wish to see another of these pirate towns. A rapid advance was now made on each side of the river, and on entering the town we found it entirely evacuated by the inhabitants, but time had not allowed of their carrying off their household furniture. Sentries having been posted, the admiral and myself, accompanied

by Lieut. Vansittart, and our body-guard, and by Mr. Ross, with his Javanese seamen, marched into the jungle, and after crossing a large track of marshy ground, emerged into a fertile and very pretty country; the detached houses, gardens, and quantity of poultry, pigs, and goats, evidencing much personal comfort, and a clear proof that the trade of piracy was at any rate a profitable speculation. The positions, indeed, taken up by these pirates were charming. The soil appeared to be excellent, with sugar cane, bananas, and Indian corn growing in great luxuriance, and there were signs of numerous cattle, which probably had been driven off on our approach. In short, nature had showered her blessings upon these people, with a most prodigal hand, and had held out inducements to honest industry which nothing but an inborn and deep-rooted love of plunder could have resisted or overcome. Our advanced guard had several shots with the enemy, a few of whom were killed and wounded in their retreat towards the hilly ground. We found piles of English ballast on one of the quay's marked with the name of Carter and Caithness, also a ship's bell, some English cords, powder, and quantities of the native arms. It was the intention of Sir Thomas Cochrane to have directed me to march across the country, and form a junction with the detachment under Captain M'Quhae at Tampassuk, but the nature of the soil, owing to the late heavy rains, rendered such a

1846.

1846. measure inadvisable, and we consequently re-embarked in the boats, having previously burnt every house in the town, and destroyed the war prahus which were building. One of these, about fifty feet in length, and beautifully built, was just completed.

CHAP. V.

BURNING OF PANDASSAN. — CHASE AND DESTRUCTION OF PIRATE PRAHUS. — VISIT TO THE RUINED FORTRESS OF MALLUDU. — PURSUIT OF A PIRATE FLEET. — SUCCESSFUL STRATAGEM OF THE PIRATES. — SUBSEQUENT DESTRUCTION OF PIRATE PRAHUS. — DEPARTURE OF THE ADMIRAL. — CAPTAIN MUNDY LEFT IN COMMAND OF THE SQUADRON. — THE ADMIRAL'S EARLY HOURS. — BOATS OF IRIS SENT ON SERVICE. — ANCHOR IN AMBONG BAY. — TRAFFIC. — DESTRUCTION OF ANOTHER ILLANUN VILLAGE. — GRAND MARKET. — NATIVE COMMODITIES. — BARTER. — NEWS OF HAJJI SAMAN. — DEPARTURE FOR KIMANIS. — VISIT OF NATIVE CHIEFS. — PROCEED UP THE RIVER. — CONFERENCE. — PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST HAJJI SAMAN. — FLEET OF NATIVE AUXILIARIES. — ENTER THE RIVER MAMBAKUT. — MR. BROOKE GIVES AUDIENCE ON THE BEACH. — FIRST SYMPTOMS OF HOSTILITIES. — ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF HAJJI SAMAN'S FORTIFIED POSITION. — PIRATE VILLAGE. — BURIAL PLACES.

THUS fell the long notorious Illanun town of Pandassan. One word from the haughty pirates of a promise of amendment and of a change of life would have saved it, as it had done Siriki, and Kanōwit; but this word was not spoken, and the place was razed to the ground, and the inhabitants driven as fugitives into the jungle, to be dealt with by the aborigines, who had long groaned beneath their grinding tyranny. 1846.

The sun, during the day, was fearfully hot, but the land campaign being fortunately short, we did not suffer. The main body of seamen, under the

1846. orders of Lieutenant Heath, had scoured the country in every direction, and a party of marines had visited a distant village, but as its character was unknown, and the people quiet, they were left unmolested. The whole party rejoined the Phlegethon in the evening, and we returned to the squadron off Tampassuk.

Aug. 3. *Aug.* 3. — The pirates taken by the Phlegethon were transferred to the Ringdove, for passage to Manilla, in order that they might be given up to the Spanish governor, with the Spanish captives taken with them, and the squadron weighed and proceeded to the northward.

In the afternoon, three large prahus were observed standing along shore under a press of sail, and the signal was made for the Ringdove and Royalist to chase. It was a pretty sight to watch the pirate vessels endeavouring to escape by steering for some detached rocks, which, just at this part of the coast, extended in clusters, several miles to seaward, and towards which, the brig and schooner boldly stood, with the hope of cutting off the chase. At dusk we could just observe, that the Royalist, from having been closer in shore, had brought to, apparently within range of the prahus, and had lowered her boats, whilst the brig, unable to get to the spot, altered her course to rejoin the squadron, which, under easy sail, continued its course for the north-east point of Borneo. When last seen, the pirate vessels appeared to have shortened sail, but the veil of night prevented our wit-

nessing the result of the Royalist's bold approach amongst the dangerous rocks. 1846.

Aug. 4. — This afternoon, the squadron anchored in Malludu bay, and was joined by the Royalist, which vessel, on coming within signal distance, telegraphed, "pirate prahus hoisted the black flag and attacked our boats, — twenty of the pirates killed, and two of their prahus destroyed." These boats evidently belonged to the Pandassan or Tampassuk rivers, towards which they were steering when first seen, and it appeared, from the account given by Lieutenant Reid, that on finding it impracticable to take the Royalist nearer to the reef, he lowered his gigs, and sent them away under the orders of * Mr. Quin (mate), and Mr. Ray (midshipman). The prahus, having separated, pulled at once for the shore, upon which Mr. Ray was directed to push quickly towards the beach and endeavour to cut off the largest one in her attempt to escape to the northward, whilst Mr. Quin gave chase to the other two, which were retreating in an opposite direction. One of the latter managed to get so close to the surf before she was overtaken, that the crews jumped overboard and swam to the shore, when she was immediately captured and destroyed, and Mr. Quin then observing, that an engagement was going on between the other prahu and the small gig, pulled in that direction to her assistance. Mr. Ray, in the mean time, had come up rapidly with the large prahu, which, on observ- Aug. 4.

* Mr. Quin has been since promoted. — ED.

1846. ing that only one small boat was approaching, faced about and opened a fire of musketry, and then endeavoured to board the gig. This, however, was prevented by Mr. Ray, who, manœuvering judiciously, kept within long range of the pirates, waiting for support, but at the same time maintained so good a fire, that many of these desperate men were killed; others jumped overboard, and swiming to the gig, clung with one hand to the gunnel, and, with invincible courage, attacked the crews with their krises. Mr. Quin came up as this sharp affair terminated, and, when the large prahu was taken possession of, ten men were found dead on board; and out of her crew of forty, only a few managed to get to the shore. It was at this time dusk; the boats were only a few hundred yards from the beach, which was lined with hundreds of natives watching the conflict.

The prahu was subsequently destroyed, and the gigs returned on board the Royalist, the third vessel effecting her escape under cover of night. This was a gallant affair, and I believe Mr. Ray was complimented by the admiral for his judgment and mode of attack, and Lieutenant Reid for the judicious management of his vessel.

None of the men were wounded on our side, so bad was the fire from the pirates. A cutter had also been despatched from the Royalist, shortly after the gigs left, by way of reinforcement, but owing to the darkness setting in, missed the other boats.

1846.

Aug. 5.

Aug. 5. — Half an hour before break of day, I started in my galley, Beauty, with the cutters of the Iris for Malludu river, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by Mr. Brooke and the boats of the squadron, setting out at the same time. The distance to the entrance of the river was about fourteen miles, which we reached after a steady pull of four hours, and having given the crews twenty minutes to rest, we made a fresh start, and a further row of six or seven miles brought us to the spot where Sheriff Osman, the great Arab pirate, had been signally defeated by Captain Talbot, the preceding year. We found the place utterly deserted, though the palisades round the encampment were still standing, and, from the appearance of the interior, it seems probable that some of the brass guns had been buried and afterwards carried away, as there were several large holes, of the size and shape of pieces of ordnance, close to the batteries. The admiral minutely inspected every part, and then entered the jungle, beyond which the village formerly stood; but not a vestige now remained, and it was evident that the drubbing administered to these notorious pirates, by my excellent friend the gallant Captain of the Vestal, had been of so decisive a nature, as to prove to the chiefs who escaped after the action, that they could no longer remain in safety in that quarter.

As no particulars are given in Mr. Brooke's Journal of the destruction of this famous piratical stronghold, I will here introduce the official letter of Captain Talbot, which will show the strength

1846. of the position, and the character of the desperate men who had so long been the terror of this part of the coast.

"Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Vixen, Malludu Bay, August 20. 1845.

"SIR,

"I have to report the proceedings of the expedition you did me the honour to place under my command.

"Your Excellency's flag having been flying on board the Vixen, you are aware of its progress to the anchorage at the head of the Malludu bay; I commence, therefore, the details from that period.

"The force, consisting of 530 seamen and marines, (the details of which I annex), conveyed in twenty-four boats, of which nine were gun-boats, left the Vixen at three o'clock, P. M., on the 18th instant, and after some little difficulty on hitting on the channel, was anchored off the mouth of the Songybuyas a little after sun-set. Here we were joined by a boat from the Pluto, carrying the Agincourt's field-piece.

"The tide serving, about eleven A. M., weighed, and passing the bar, anchored within it. At daylight on the 19th we proceeded up the river in two divisions: after advancing about two miles, I was informed by the Brunè pilots we were nearing the town. I, therefore, went a-head with Captain Lyster, to reconnoitre. On coming to an abrupt turn in the river, about three miles higher, we found ourselves suddenly in front of the position, which consisted of two stockaded ports of eight

and three guns each, commanding the reach. 1846.
About 200 yards below the forts was a boom across the river, apparently well constructed. The forts appeared to us to stand on a tongue of land, from which we were separated by the river, which at that point divided into two branches, and the pilots declared that to be the case: that turning to the right, we observed, was still further defended by a floating battery. There appeared, therefore, to be no means of carrying the position but by forcing the boom.

"On rejoining the force, arrangements were made for the gun-boats to advance to the boom to cover the party appointed to cut through it, the remainder of the force to hold itself in readiness to act when ordered. We had approached the boom to within 100 yards when a flag of truce was observed to be coming towards us. Conceiving the object of the enemy was merely to gain time, I sent back a message, that unless Sheriff Osman came to me in half an hour, I should open fire. This being conveyed to the fort, the flag returned with an offer to admit me with two boats, that I might visit the Sheriff. I declined, and the flag retired: the moment it was clear of the line of fire, the three-gun battery opened, and the cannonade became general on both sides.

"The boom was composed of three large sized trees, each supporting a chain cable, equal to ten or twelve inches, firmly bolted and secured around the trunk of a tree on each bank: a cut in the right

1846. bank allowed a canoe to pass, but was impassable to any of our boats.

"One hour nearly elapsed before we could in any way remove the obstacle, during which time the fire of the enemy was well sustained, all the guns being laid for the boom. I need hardly mention it was briskly returned from our side, both from guns and small arms, and some rockets well thrown by a party which had been landed on the right bank, appeared to produce considerable effect.

"As soon as the passage was open for the smaller boats, they passed through rapidly, and embarked the marines from the large boats across the boom; ultimately the whole force passed through. The enemy immediately quitted their defences, and fled in every direction. The marines and small-arm men having cleared the town, the former were formed as a covering party, and parties of seamen were pushed up both banks of the river, but met with no opposition; at the same time preparations were made for spiking the guns, and destroying the stockades and town: in a short time these were completed, and the whole in flames, as well as three large prahus, and several smaller ones.

"Being anxious to save the tide, and conceiving that the object contemplated by your Excellency was accomplished, I ordered the force to be re-embarked, and proceeded down the river to the Vixen. When your Excellency considers the strength of the enemy's position, and the obvious state of preparation in which we found him, you will be pre-

pared to learn that the service has not been performed without considerable loss. I regret very much to state it at six killed, and fifteen wounded. The loss on the part of the enemy was unquestionably very great, but the surrounding jungle afforded the enemy the means of carrying off their dead, according to their custom in these cases. Nevertheless, some of those left on the field we recognised as persons of considerable influence. 1846.

"Whilst I record my admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the whole force under a galling fire, sustained for a long period, I must particularly mention Captain Lyster, who directed his attention to the boom, and by whose personal exertions that obstacle was overcome.

"Mr. Gibbard, mate of her Majesty's ship Wolverine, was, I grieve to say, mortally wounded by an early shot, whilst gallantly working at the boom with an axe.

"I beg leave to point out to your Excellency the conduct of Mr. Williamson, Malay interpreter to Mr. Brooke; he was with me during the attack, and was exposed to the whole of the fire.

"I have the honour, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) "CHARLES TALBOT.

"His Excellency Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, C.B., Commander-in-Chief."

In this gallant action sheriff Osman was dangerously wounded; and nothing having been heard of him since, it is believed that he died in the jungle.

We reached our respective ships at seven, P. M., having pulled about forty miles during the day, in

1846. a broiling sun. The captains, as usual, dined with our most hospitable chief, and discussed the past day's amusement until a late hour.

Aug. 6. *Aug.* 6. — The squadron weighed at day-light, and stood out of Malludu Bay. The Ringdove joined company in the offing, having been despatched two days ago to chase several suspicious-looking prahus, which were standing towards the Island of Balambangan. Sir William Hoste reported that he had followed three prahus until the brig had shoaled the water to her own draught; when he despatched the boats in pursuit, under Lieutenant Norcock, which officer, having boarded them shortly after they had run on shore and been deserted by their crews, found them to be laden with rice and other products of the country, and no guns or arms of any kind below. Imagining, therefore, that they were trading vessels, he returned towards the Ringdove, upon which the crews immediately regained the prahus, and were again making off from the shore, when a second order from Sir William Hoste, despatched by another boat, directed Lieutenant Norcock to bring one of the prahus to the brig, in order that the commander might judge himself of her character.

One of the prahus was consequently taken possession of and brought alongside the Ringdove, the crew rowing it themselves, and having a guard over them of three marines and several seamen. On being made fast alongside the brig, without any previous warning, the pirates, for such

it appears they were, though their arms had been skilfully concealed, suddenly rose, and simultaneously with their krises flew upon the seamen and marines, and, before they could defend themselves, one marine was killed, and two marines and a seaman severely wounded, they being all of the Ringdove's crew then on board the prahu. The prahu was at this time under the quarter, and touching the counter of the brig; so close, indeed, that one of the pirates actually took his spear, and lunging it through the port of the Ringdove, mortally wounded the master; and it was also reported, though I cannot ascertain exactly whether true or not, that the headman of the pirates, after killing the marine sentry dead with his krise, seized the musket as the man fell into the hold of the prahu, and fired it at the officers standing on the gangway. The pirates then cut the hawser adrift, and seizing their paddles made off for the shore. A desperate and well planned manœuvre, it must be admitted; and as it was at this time dark, there would have been a probability of escape, had not the boats of the brig been quickly manned and sent in chase. The prahu was overtaken and boarded in less than ten minutes, upon which the crew retreated below, and with their long spears, through the bamboo flooring, made a desperate defence, and finally refusing all quarter, they were slain to a man, and the prahu sunk by the gun of the pinnace. 1846.

As I have already stated that there were no

1846. arms on board any of the prahus when they were first boarded, it is evident that these weapons must have been carried on shore when the crew deserted their vessels, and taken on board again, and carefully concealed when the captured prahu was remanned. I must also observe that the piratical crew showed no disposition to resist being taken off to the Ringdove, and during the long pull, such adepts were they at dissimulation, they appeared rather satisfied than otherwise at the excursion, and chatted good-humoredly, through the interpreter, with the marines and seamen.

Aug. 7. — Heavy rain with thunder and lightning, and south-westerly squalls.

This forenoon Mr. Brooke left the Agincourt and came on board the Iris, for a passage to join the Phlegethon, which vessel was to convey him to Sarāwak, when the operations on the north-west coast should be concluded. I went early on board the flag-ship to receive my final instructions, the commander-in-chief having previously acquainted me, that he intended that I should continue in the command of the detached squadron on the coast of Borneo. My orders were, to revisit Brunē, enter, if possible, into negotiations with the sultan, and attack Hajji-Saman, wherever he might be found; then to revisit Tampassuk and Pandassan, and to expel the Illanuns entirely from these shores, should they make any attempt to rebuild in those districts. At noon the admiral stood away for the Palăwān passage, bound to China, accompanied by the

Dædalus, Ringdove, and Royalist; leaving under my order the Hazard and Phlegethon, with the further intimation, that another sloop of war and a small steamer would be speedily sent to me from China. 1846.

With this reinforcement I shall have a respectable squadron, and only hope we may have the good fortune to fall in with one of the pirate fleets well out to sea: no officer can regret being left in command, yet am I sorry to part with our chief. Sometimes, perhaps, I may think that his excellency's hours of rising are inconveniently early, and may disapprove of this habit as having a tendency to draw the captains from their cots at a period of the morning not quite agreeable; perhaps, also, I might venture the opinion, that, occasionally, the squadron may be a little overworked; but, as the admiral never spares himself, there is not much cause for a growl, and I willingly record the admiration of my brother officers and myself at the skill and great nerve he has displayed in navigating so large a force along this dangerous and unsurveyed coast.

In the evening I anchored off the rocks where the Royalist had engaged the pirates, and at dusk sent away the pinnace and cutter under charge of Lieut. Little, with a party of marines and five days' provisions, with orders to cruize along the coast after the Illanuns, and to rejoin the ship at Ambong on the 12th. Lieut. Little was also directed to examine the inlets for the village of

1846. Sarang, which, from late information, was reported to be another strong hold of the pirates in connexion with Pandassan. Mr. Sullivan, second master, and Mr. Hamilton, midshipman, were also in the pinnace, and Mr. M'Crea, midshipman, with Mr. Jolliffe, assistant surgeon, in the cutter.

Aug. 11. *August* 11.—During the last three days we have been working to the southward, against the south-west monsoon, keeping well out in the offing, whilst our boats were occasionally in sight from the masthead close under the land. Last evening we anchored in Ambong Bay, and this morning Mr. Brooke and myself went on shore with the cutter and gig armed. We were met by the orang-kaya and a large number of natives on the beach, and learnt from them that the Illanuns had not returned to Tampassuk since our departure. The people seemed delighted to see us again, and promised to bring bullocks, poultry, and vegetables for sale to-morrow, in exchange for which we had English cotton goods and long cloth to give them. On our return on board we found that the boats under Lieut. Little had come in from their cruize. He had not being able to discover the town of Sarang, but had captured and destroyed one piratical prahu, the crew of which escaped on shore; and he had afterwards ascended the Pandassan river, and marched to a small Illanun village which he destroyed. On dropping down the river again, at a narrow turning of the stream, the pirates assembled in force, and attacked the boats with

great vigour, throwing showers of spears from the banks at the distance of ten to fifteen yards; several struck the pinnace, but most passed over to the opposite side, and none of our men were hurt. A discharge of musketry from the marines soon put the enemy to confusion; many of the pirates in the advance were killed and wounded, and the boats subsequently passed out to the open sea without further opposition. The yells and screams of these savages were terrific as, compelled to retreat, they glided away into the jungle. No inhabitants were found amongst the ruins of Pandassan or of Tampassuk, which Lieut. Little also visited, and the opinion of the Ambong people is that they will remain as thoroughly deserted as Malludu has been since its destruction. To the quiet inhabitants of Ambong, our active measures appear to have given unqualified satisfaction, and they hope now to be secure from future attacks of their oppressors. 1846.

August 12.—To-day we had quite a grand market on shore, and much business was done. A large number of the people from the interior had come down, bringing many beautiful bullocks; thirty or forty were on the beach for sale, besides poultry, goats, and vegetables in small quantities. I ordered the purser to purchase six bullocks for the ships' company; those of the greatest size cost about one penny three-farthings a pound, the price being measured by the value of long cloth given in exchange. Fifty yards of common calico were considered equal to an animal weighing 260 pounds. Aug. 12.

1846. The finest beasts belonged to the Dussuns or hill people; the smaller ones and the poultry to the Bajows, or sea Gipsies, who live on the coast; all were armed with kampelans, long spears, and sumpitans, and seemed most anxious to trade, making many inquiries if the other ships would return, and promising to grow large quantities of vegetables, and to keep a good supply of every thing if we would continue to visit the place. Mr. Brooke and myself strolled amongst these wild men whilst the barter was going on, and we engaged to afford them protection from the Illanuns if they would only give notice to Brunè should the pirates return again to their neighbourhood. I took a great fancy to this place, the people seemed so really desirous of being friendly with Europeans, and so anxious to know if there was a probability of trade with Singapore. The bullocks also were far superior in quality to any we had been able to procure either in the Straits or in China; and it was evident that ample supplies could at any time be obtained for the squadron from this place, provided the people had confidence in our revisiting it periodically.

Aug. 13. *August* 13.—Early in the morning we weighed, and with a moderate north westerly wind beat out of the bay. In the afternoon we had rain and heavy squalls; towards evening the weather cleared up when a large prahu was seen standing towards us with several white flags flying. We tacked and stood towards her; she proved to be one of the

boats belonging to the orang-kaya of Kimanis, and brought a letter stating, that he had received information that our determined foe Hajji Saman was fortifying himself in the Mambakūt river, six miles from Kimanis, and had threatened to attack that place if the people allowed communication with the English. 1846.

The intelligence of this chief having actually commenced to fortify a position inland seemed almost too good to be true, though, from the character of Hajji Saman, Mr. Brooke thought it very probable that he might endeavour to fix himself in the Mambakūt river, and there form a nucleus for piracy, and it was, moreover, known that the Dyaks in this particular district had always been of evil disposition, and inimical to European connexion. The prahu was dispatched immediately on her return to Kimanis with a message to the orang-kaya that the frigate would appear there as soon as possible, but the wind was provokingly light, and being dead foul, little progress was made during the evening.

Aug. 14. — Beating along shore towards Kimanis, off which place we observed the Phlegethon at anchor, and in the afternoon we took up our berth in ten fathoms alongside of her, about three quarters of a mile from the shore. Mr. Ross came on board, and gave us further particulars respecting Hajji Saman, who had sent another message to the chiefs of Kimanis, to the effect, that he was quite prepared to resist any attempt that might be made

1846. to interfere with his arrangements in the Mambakūt river.

Mr. Brooke also received visits from several chiefs, who ruled the rivers between Kimanis and Ambong, all of whom declared, that they were favourable to a legal trade along the coast, and would willingly assist with their war prahus in any expedition that might be undertaken by the rajah of Sarāwak. These gentry were dismissed, after a short parley, and arrangements were made for a grand assembly for the morrow, when Mr. Brooke was to receive all the depositions and other information that might be offered, and we were afterwards to decide on the plan of operations.

July 24. *Aug.* 15. — Mr. Brooke and myself proceeded early up the river, and had a long conference with the chiefs of the districts round, and, after maturely weighing all their statements, Mr. Brooke informed me, that he believed the intelligence respecting the movements and intentions of Hajji Saman to be in the main, correct, and I, therefore, decided to act immediately against him.

Aug. 16. *Aug.* 16. — At day light, the boats of the squadron left the ship, under the charge of Lieutenant Little, assisted by Mr. Sullivan (second master), and by Messrs. Hanmer, Hamilton, McCrea, and Visconti (midshipmen), Mr. Jolliffe attending as the medical officer. The total force was seventy bayonets, including the detachment of marines, under Lieutenant Alexander, and rocket party under Lieutenant Heath, and all being ready, they proceeded

on board the Phlegethon. Mr. Brooke and myself joined shortly afterwards, when, taking the boats in tow, we steered for the entrance of the Mambakūt river, six miles distant, bearing south west. 1846.

Having anchored in four fathoms, half a mile from the bar, over which a heavy surf was breaking, we immediately pulled towards the shore; the principal pangeran of our new allies showing the channel. Mr. Brooke and I followed in the gig, and the other boats in line astern. Having reached the smooth water, we lay to for the native auxiliaries, and soon after, commenced ascending the river, against a strong current. Lieutenant Little's force formed the van division, — then came the boats of the Phlegethon, under Mr. Heyden and Mr. Vaughan, and a quarter of a mile in the rear, the large fleet of prahus. It was a very beautiful and picturesque scene. Boat after boat dashing through the surf, with their gaudy flags and long streamers, and then shooting into the unruffled stream beyond, and taking up their assigned positions; which were well under command of our guns and rockets.

About forty war prahus, from the different rivers in the vicinity, with a force of 500 men, armed with thirty brass swivel guns, joined us here, the principal chieftains being pangeran Madoud of Mangatal, and the orang-kayas of Kimanis, Pappar, and Kalias. These were all most anxious to show themselves in their best attire to the English rajah, who, in consequence of this unexpected apparition

1846. of a large native force, thought it his duty to be present, and on this account, accompanied me in my gig.

I certainly was not without apprehension of the possibility of treachery on the part of this unexpected reinforcement, and it was, therefore, requisite to keep our own force well together, ready to act on any emergency, whilst it was also politic in Mr. Brooke to show his entire confidence in their good faith; though, as many of the prahus had arrived from distant places, with which he was unacquainted, he could not *positively know* the truth of the assertion of the chiefs, — that they were desirous of commerce and of friendship with England.

When all the force was assembled, Mr. Brooke, seated on the beach, gave audience to the chiefs, and made them comprehend that they were on no account, to commence hostilities, and that their duty was to keep our retreat open, if necessary. This all settled, our force was put in motion, and, after pulling up for three hours against a strong ebb, the first symptoms of an attempt to oppose our progress were manifested by the floating down of heavy rafts of bamboos, and shortly afterwards the report of guns was heard in the interior. The boats of the Iris led the advance, accompanied by the Phlegethon's cutters, and were followed, at a short distance, by the war prahus of our native allies. Mr. Brooke and myself passed from one detachment to the other, watching their proceed-

ings, and directing their movements according to circumstances.

At the time we met the rafts, the gig was some distance ahead of the leading boat; and at a sudden bend of the river, which was here about twenty yards wide, with a current of three knots running down, we discovered a long line of thick bamboo stakes fixed across the stream, with an immense boom attached to them, but which, owing to the freshes, had swung athwart. Facing these defences, distant about eighty yards, a small fort had been erected, which immediately opened fire upon the gig. The pinnace, under Lieut. Little, coming up close astern, passed on to the attack, followed by the barge and rocket-boats under Lieut. Heath, and in a few minutes the action became general. The current was so strong that it was with great difficulty the boats could force their way through the narrow passage, and during a quarter of an hour a brisk fire was kept up on both sides.

Several of our native allies recognised Hajji Saman, who commanded the battery in person; but, as usual, as soon as the pinnace had passed the boom, the chief, with all his Borneo followers, decamped, and the fort was speedily taken and destroyed by Lieutenant Little. The position of the battery was admirably chosen, having mangrove swamps on each bank of the river, which rendered a flank movement impossible; and close to its base, bamboo spikes had been driven, to pre-

1846. vent landing. No time was lost here, the whole force pushed rapidly on, and in a narrow creek a large prahu, endeavouring to escape, was captured and destroyed.

We arrived at the first cultivated ground, about a mile farther up, having previously passed the ruins of a village destroyed last year by pangeran Budrudeen for continued acts of piracy. Two miles again from this, amidst ranges of cocoa nuts and fruit trees on either bank, the first signs of habitable dwellings appeared, and shooting round a neck of land, we came directly upon a large village. On landing, we found it entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and having been now seven hours at the oars, I called a halt, and taking up our quarters in the best buildings, piped to dinner.

Meanwhile guns were heard still further inland, and having refreshed the crews, we recommenced pulling up, the scenery increasing in beauty, and the banks of the river becoming richer in cultivation. Each house had a garden neatly fenced round, and in regular beds systematically sown, I observed lettuces, cabbages, onions, &c., so exactly similar to the Chinese arrangements, that I believe Chinese prisoners must have laid them out. The interior of the houses were extremely neat; mats, threshing, and knitting machines, culinary implements, and other furniture in capital order; and had it not been for the *numberless human skulls* pendant from every apartment, and suspended from the ceiling in regular festoons, with the thigh and

arm bones occupying the intervening spaces, and a few ornaments *peculiar* to the wildest class of Dyaks, I should have believed myself in a civilised land. Alas, what horrors! It is seldom that I moralize in my Journal, usually contenting myself with the relation of facts; yet, who can witness the violence of this land, or listen to the tale of the dreadful scenes which have passed within the knowledge and under the eye of my present companion, the intrepid Brooke, without sometimes falling into a melancholy and reflective strain? 1846.

How long yet will the Almighty tolerate these atrocities in the Heathen! How long will that great beneficent Being permit this beauteous land, endowed by nature with every requisite for the happiness of man, to be the dwelling-place of demons in human form! but stop, we can only exclaim, "God's will be done," and we have no authority to question His mode of action.

I was much struck by the simplicity and beauty of the tombs of the Dyaks. They were generally erected on rising ground, in lovely spots, surrounded by creepers and flowering shrubs, a hundred yards from the buildings; they were of an oblong form, composed of wooden planks, standing about twelve feet from the ground on piles, and covered with a sloping roof of the branches of the sago palm; strips of broad bark were attached according to fancy on the gables, having various devices rudely painted upon them.

Goats, poultry, and pigs were numerous in the

1846. enclosures, the latter animal proving that we were no longer amongst the followers of Mohamed; indeed, from what I could learn, these people have no religion, and no idea of a God. What a field for missionary labours!

CHAP. VI.

DESTRUCTION OF HAJJI SAMAN'S MANSION. — DYAK COURTSHIP. — HEAD-HUNTING. — BURNING OF A SECOND VILLAGE. — PROGRESS UP THE RIVER. — BIVOUAC IN A PIRATE HAMLET. — AMAZEMENT OF THE NATIVES. — DESERTER FROM THE ENEMY. — FALL OF THE RIVER. — VEGETATION ON THE BANKS. — NECESSITY OF SEVERE MEASURES. — THE SUMPITAN. — DESCRIPTION OF THE DARTS. — ATTEMPT TO DESTROY A TOMB. — ENGLISH GOODS DISCOVERED. — DEFENCE OF THE RIVER. — MALAY GUNNERY. — NATIVE AMBUSH. — ATTACK AND DESTROY THE POSITION. — RETURN TO THE PHLEGETHON. — CASUALTIES DURING THE EXPEDITION. — ENTERTAIN THE NATIVE CHIEFS ON BOARD. — DEPARTURE OF MR. BROOKE FOR BRUNÈ. — RETURN TO KIMANIS. — SUCCESS OF OUR OPERATIONS. — PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT BRUNÈ. — THE SULTAN RETIRES AGAIN TO THE JUNGLE. — LETTER FROM MR. BROOKE.

Aug. 16. — To proceed with my history. After passing several detached houses, all of which were deserted, we came suddenly upon a mansion of the largest size. The main verandah had a frontage of 300 feet, and the piles on which it stood were four feet in diameter. The building was close upon the river's bank, and partially concealed by cocoa nut trees. One of these had been cut down in order to form a kind of abattis, from behind which, as the Phlegethon's boats (which were now leading) approached, a few small guns opened, but were quickly silenced as the reinforce- 1846. Aug. 16.

1846. ments came up; a party was at the same time landed for the purpose of cutting off the enemy in their retreat, but they were not to be caught, and retiring rapidly into the jungle, carried with them their killed and wounded. We ascertained that this first class mansion had been tenanted by Hajji Saman himself. In ten minutes it was in flames, and amongst the furniture soon enveloped in the blaze were fifty skulls, and as many packages of human bones—several of them evidently the latest gifts of the Dyak gentlemen to their lady loves; for no aristocratic youth dare venture to pay his addresses to a Dyak demoiselle, unless he throws at the blushing maiden's feet a net full of skulls, at the same time that he offers his hand and heart! In some districts it is customary for the young lady to desire her lover to cut a thick bamboo from the neighbouring jungle, and when in possession of this instrument, she carefully arranges the cadeau d'amour on the floor, and by repeated blows beats the heads into fragments, which, when thus pounded, are scraped up and cast into the river, at the same time she throws herself into the arms of the enraptured youth, and so commences the honey-moon.

The usual practice, however, is to guard the skulls, pickling them with care, as from the extreme heat of the climate, constant attention is required to preserve them. This account was given by a native to Mr. Brooke and Captain Maitland,

with much other unique information too startling for publication. 1846.

The work of destroying Hajji Saman's second position completed, the men were again at their oars, and, going ahead to reconnoitre, I reached a Dyak village, having in its rear an extensive plain; the opposite bank of the river being also open ground. The inhabitants could not have quitted their homes ten minutes, as all their property had been left to the mercy of the invader — an invader whom, doubtless, Hajji Saman had described as a ruthless barbarian; for these poor men, savage as their nature may be, and disgusting their habits, had never seen a white man before; and no European keel had ever cut their waters, unless as a prize to their piratical prahus.

On examining this spot, I found it well adapted for a bivouac for the night, and on expressing my opinion to Mr. Brooke, and my wish to push up the river the next morning, he entirely coincided with my views. Lieut. Little then joined us, with all the boats, and before darkness set in, the marines were in barracks. The Iris and Phlegethon's boats were drawn up together along the bank, in front of head-quarters, and the native auxiliaries were ordered to take up their station ahead. The sentries were planted, and our position made secure, the enemy, at the extremity of the plain, watching our movements with much astonishment.

On returning to head-quarters, after inspecting the outposts, I was sorry to find that my friend

1846. and companion, Mr. Brooke, owing to the fatigue and exposure he had for many weeks past undergone, felt himself far from well; and thus being unable to enjoy the rough fare of the bivouac, he stretched himself on a flooring of bamboo, and, taking a bundle of faggots for a pillow, bade defiance to the horrible insects which are, indeed, the torments of these equatorial regions.

During the night the enemy, by continued horrific yells, acquainted us that they were watching our camp fires, and early in the middle watch, a man came to the brink of the river, on the opposite bank, and called out, in the Malay language, that he had deserted from Hajji Saman, and wished to join us; whereupon one of the native chiefs ordered him to leap into the river, and swim across, if he were serious in his professions, and promised him protection. The man instantly complied; and on being brought before us, he stated that Hajji Saman had fled to the houses at the head of the stream in great consternation, and that the Dyaks were astounded at our advance, the Bornean chieftain having assured them that his forts and boom were impregnable.

Aug. 17. *Aug.* 17. — Mr. Brooke having rallied from his indisposition, at early dawn we commenced rowing up the river, and were greatly delighted to find that the water had fallen five feet during the night, and that the strength of the stream was much abated.

The character of the river still continued the

1846.

same, only gradually narrowing, having villages at every place where the cocoa-nut and fruit-trees flourished, and where the ground was firm; the intervening spaces of mangrove swamps and Nepa palms being a quarter of a mile in extent, and thus dividing the cultivated spots into so many islands. After five hours' pull, our guides informed us that the village then in sight, directly ahead, was the last upon the river; and that, beyond this, the stream dwindled to a mere creek, overhung with brushwood and creepers. The narrowness of the river now showed that we had nearly reached the limit of its cultivated banks. In half an hour, a cheer from the headmost boats signalised that the last refuge of the enemy was in sight; a few strokes more, and our guns and rockets were in play. The enemy vainly endeavoured to oppose our steady advance by musketry, and by blowing showers of sumpits at their white and black assailants. But, a landing once accomplished, the retreat became general; and the first of the sultan's chieftains, the notorious Hajji Saman, following the example of his sovereign, sought safety amidst the jungle, lighted by the flames of the Dyak fortress, which he, unlike his master, at any rate, attempted to defend.

This work of retributive justice concluded, the whole force commenced its descent. Our mission had been accomplished: the head of the river had been gained, and every position taken; and I had now the painful duty of ordering Lieutenant Little

1846. to destroy and burn every Dyak house on both sides of the river.

It might appear to many, unacquainted with the nature of these Dyak buildings, that the destruction of them was unnecessary. "To spare the houses, and not to fire a shot at the natives, unless they first attacked us," were my positive instructions to Lieutenant Little, on giving him the command; and this was rigidly observed. Now, every Dyak house is in itself a fortress. A paragraph of my official letter to the commander-in-chief, detailing these operations, states as follows:—"Your excellency is well aware that every Dyak house, of large dimensions, is a fortress in itself; and as the inhabitants blew showers of sumpits into our boats as they passed, wounding several men, it was evident they had taken part with Hajji Saman; and for these hostile acts their buildings were destroyed." Mr. Brooke, who has great knowledge of the character of the wild Dyaks, acquiesced in my opinion, that to spare their houses after they had attacked us with their poisoned darts, would have been construed by them to a *fear* of *landing* amongst them. These people had never heard of the white man's power; their rivers had always been considered impregnable, and of defeat they had not dreamed. They had carried desolation and misery amongst the quiet tribes around, and never imagined the day of retribution would come.

Several of our men were wounded by the sum-

pits; however, the arrows, on being drawn out, left a very small incision, which a kind messmate instantly sucked, and the poison (a black substance made from the upas tree) was extracted. These arrows are nine inches long, of tough wood, not thicker than moderate sized wire, very neatly made, and generally barbed with sharpened fish bones. At twenty yards' distance, the barb meeting the bare skin, would bury half the arrow in the flesh, but would not penetrate cloth at the distance of forty yards; the extreme range may be eighty or ninety yards. The length of the longest sumpitan I saw was between seven and eight feet, and much resembled the cherry-stick pipes of Turkey. The beauty and straightness of the bore is remarkable, and in order to give the greatest velocity to the arrow, the head of it is made to fit exactly to the size of the tube, and is formed of a sort of pith, or of very soft wood. The quiver for these arrows is really curious, beautifully made from the large bamboo, and besides, the darts usually contain a variety of amulets or charms in the shape of pebbles, bones, and odd pieces of wood, with the skins of monkeys. 1846.

On our return down the river, about twenty of these stately buildings were burnt to the ground. I had given strict orders that the abodes of the dead should be respected, and I only heard of a single instance of their being disobeyed. One of the Javanese crew of the Phlegethon (a mussalman) endeavoured to destroy a distant mausoleum, and as he applied the fiery brand, was heard to

1846. say, "It is only the burial place of a Kaffir, and ought not to be spared," an excuse, however, which did not prevent his receiving due punishment for so malicious a deed.

The heat from the burning houses was excessive, and the awning, which I had spread in the gig, as a protection against the poisoned arrows, was kept constantly wet to prevent ignition, whilst the thirst of the crews was quenched by the milk from the cocoa nuts, which were found here in great abundance.

In several of these mansions, English goods were discovered,—long cloths, gunpowder, iron utensils, cards, and other articles, evidently taken by these pirates not long ago.

It was at one of the positions, where the Dyaks were assembled in force, that a volley of musketry passing over our heads, and striking the water beyond our oars, showed us we were in the neighbourhood of more dangerous weapons than the native sumpitan. In a few minutes I was on shore with my rifle, and followed by my crew, and those of the nearest boats, rushed to the open spot, and got distant shots at a body of Hajji Saman's rascals as they retreated amongst the palm trees, and I must do our native allies the justice to say, that they evinced, throughout the expedition, a hearty desire to assist us, keeping up a respectable fire from their swivel guns and muskets. One young Malay I particularly remarked for his courage and coolness, as with a double barrelled detonator he kept up a

really effective fire. Another ally from the Borneo river had an English piece with four barrels, but this he, of course, could not manage very cleverly. Having driven these savages into the jungle, we continued our course down the stream, which was here about twenty yards wide. 1846.

Observing a covered spot well suited for an ambush, I had just pointed it out to Brooke, when the sharp rattle of a musket-ball, and the exclamation of my coxswain, that he was wounded in the leg, proved that the ground had not been tenanted in vain. On examination, however, the wound proved to be slight, the ball burying itself in the boat's gear, a-midship. Giving the rajah the yoke-lines, I now opened fire with my double-barrel fowling-piece, right and left, as fast as I could load, whilst my fellows gave way in good earnest; and though many shots from the enemy told near us, no other casualty occurred at this point.

This was, however, rather a narrow escape for her Majesty's political agent and myself, the knee of the strokesman and the persons of the sitters not being very far apart in a six-oared gig.

We at length reached the entrance of the river, having remained a quarter of an hour at the lower fort, in order to destroy it thoroughly, as well as the boom, which was a spar of the largest dimensions. I recrossed the bar without difficulty, but the large boats had to dismount the guns, and to be dragged over. Mr. Brooke and myself got

1846. back to the Phlegethon by sunset. Our loss during the operations was one man killed, and fourteen wounded, four of them severely; that of the enemy we were unable to ascertain; but from the nature of the country and their desultory mode of fighting, it was in all probability not very severe; and, on these occasions, no reliance can be placed on the report of the natives, who live on exaggeration.

The boats, with their crews, were all safe on board the Iris (anchored six miles distant) by midnight, and our dark-coloured friends joined the rendezvous at the steamer, when Mr. Ross entertained them with a feast on the quarter-deck, which was kept up till a late hour with great spirit, rajah Brooke listening with an imperturbable countenance and saint-like patience to the oft-repeated tales of the performances of our native allies in this grand campaign. Before separation a bond was drawn up by Mr. Brooke, to which the rulers of the people who had been engaged on our side willingly subscribed. It promised that all the peaceable tribes should protect each other against their piratical neighbours; every independent chief also swearing to protect the person and property of shipwrecked or distressed Europeans who might be driven on their iron-bound coast; and I really now hope we have made a commencement in the good work of rendering these seas secure for the lawful trader. The successful discharges of our Congreve rockets—weapons so fear-

ful to a savage people — gave them an idea of our power, whilst our uniform kindness to all the unpiratical tribes plainly bespoke our anxiety to be friendly with the good. 1846.

Aug. 18. — The Phlegethon went on with Mr. Brooke to Brunè, and I rejoined the frigate. Aug. 18.

Aug. 19. — Kimanis. I went up to the town early in the morning, accompanied by the barge and cutter, and the purser purchased six bullocks, of large size, for two pieces of calico. Several canoes came to meet us at the river's mouth, and escorted us back, — shouting, singing, and giving vent to their joy, by paddling round and round us, waving their flags and firing muskets. Aug. 19.

I had also an opportunity of seeing a variety of the fair sex, who, with numbers of children, crowded the terraces which overhung the river, drawn thither by curiosity, not to see either myself, officers, or boats, but to witness the performances of my beautiful thoroughbred spaniel, who, sporting his glossy black hide in the stream, swam occasionally from side to side, hunting such of the brakes on either bank as promised an appearance of game, and giving tongue vociferously as some unknown bird or animal was flushed or broke cover before him. I may remark casually that the young women in general were far better looking than in other villages of the Malay stamp; and it struck me as probable that there may have been intermarriages with the Dusuns or Dyaks of the interior. The lower classes of the females amongst

1846. the Malays, as amongst the Chinese, are decidedly plain; many, indeed, are frightful, hard-featured, and angular; but the young ladies of whom I now speak had considerable attractions, were graceful in their movements, their figures well rounded, and of true proportion.

On landing, I was received by the orang-kaya and the principal men of the village; and, after taking a seat on the divan, long cigars (being tobacco rolled up in the leaf of Indian corn) were brought to me by some of the ladies of the chiefs, and the doors of the women's apartments being thrown open, they sat on the threshold, and appeared to listen with great interest to our conversation, and to the description which I gave of the defeat of Hajji Saman, and the destruction of his defences in the river Mambakut. I remarked that none of the numerous chiefs or people who thronged the large platform in front of the hall of audience were armed, and that both women and children were moving about and playing around as if quite accustomed to our presence; a circumstance which, though very gratifying to me as proving their entire confidence in us, yet seemed unaccountable when I considered that we were amidst a native race professing the Mahomedan religion.

The successful issue of our operations gave great satisfaction to these really good people, though I was grieved to learn from the orang-kaya that the wild Dyaks, whom we had driven into the interior with the remnant of Hajji Saman's artillery men,

would probably make a descent on the fertile region of Kimanis, from which they were only distant fifteen or twenty miles. I quieted the old man's fears by promising to revisit his river shortly, and by recommending him to act strictly on the defensive, as with his numerous swivel guns properly placed round the town, it could not be captured if bravely defended. On taking final leave, the women and children followed me to the boat, entreating me not to forsake them, and to come back quickly. Several canoes accompanied me to the mouth of the river, and others, laden with stock, went off to the ship to make their last exchanges. 1846.

August 25. — Off Labuan. Last evening I fell in with the Phlegethon: Mr. Brooke came on board, and passed a couple of hours with me; and from him I learnt that the remaining princes belonging to Muda Hassim's family, with their wives and children, were on board the steamer, they prefering to return to Sarāwak, where they would live in safety, to remaining at the capital, in constant dread of the accession of the piratical party to power, when their lives would be immediately sacrificed. Regarding the present state of Brunè, Mr. Brooke assured me that it would be most necessary to carry on the same decided and steady policy as that observed by the commander-in-chief, as the only means of keeping down the evil-disposed pangerans, who would again endeavour to persuade his highness to acts of wicked- Aug. 25.

1846. ness and violence, if they thought it might be done with impunity, now that the fleet had been withdrawn from the coast. Mr. Brooke also informed me that the sultan had re-ratified all his former engagements, but that, as his character for treachery and weakness was so well known, it could be only by working upon his "fear of consequences" that he could at present be prevailed to punish or deliver up the delinquent pangerans. I now explained to Mr. Brooke all that had occurred at Kimanis, and the necessity of my returning there again shortly to watch the proceedings of the Dyaks, who threatened the town; but I proposed, in the first instance, to go up to Brunè in force, with all the boats and marines, and demand an audience of the sultan, at which I would plainly tell his highness that, if he broke through his re-ratified engagements in the slighest degree, I would destroy the city.

These questions having been duly settled, I took leave of my friend the rajah, who returned to the Phlegethon, and proceeded on his voyage to Sarāwak, where I promised to touch when the want of provisions should oblige me to work over to Singapore.

This morning we communicated with a large trading prahu; and a report reaches me from the head man that the sultan has again retired from the city, fearing our approach. Let him go. Time will probably cure his highness of the folly of such a part as he is now acting. I shall, at any rate,

proceed to the city myself to-morrow; and when pangeran Mumin is better acquainted with the results of our late operations, and is assured of my intention of remaining many weeks longer on the coast, he may believe that the English admiral is determined to carry into effect the policy set forth in his late proclamation; and that, however numerous and violent the piratical party may still be at Brunè, the growing strength of the mercantile and peaceful portion of the community, supported by our squadron, will be an inducement to the weak-minded sultan to adhere to his engagements. 1846.

Aug. 26. — At anchor in the Borneo river. We anchored inside Moarra Point yesterday, and, by signal, the Hazard dropped down from Cherimon, and joined company. Our passage from Kimanis has been slow, the weather squally, and the navigation between Pulo Tiga and Labuan being extremely intricate and dangerous, from the numerous coral reefs whose positions are as yet unknown, I am glad to be again moored in a snug berth. Captain Egerton reports all having gone on quietly since the capture of the city; and he gave me a letter from Mr. Brooke, which, not expecting to meet the Iris again, he had left for me. As it explains in a few graphic sentences what had transpired between the Christian rajah and the Mohamedan sultan, during the visit of the former to to the capital, I will here transcribe it: — Aug. 26.

1846. "MY DEAR MUNDY," "Brunè, August 25, 1846.

"We arrived here on the 19th, and found the Hazard off Cherimon. After well weighing all matters, I resolved (villain though he be) not to reject any advances from the sultan, and, as I expected, I received a most humble letter from his Majesty; in answer to which I intimated by message (for I declined any personal interview), that he was permitted to return to the city. He arrived accordingly, and with many oaths and protestations of sorrow swore that he would do any thing for pardon.

"I informed him that his request for pardon must be made to the English Government, and that he was bound to re-ratify his broken engagements.

This he did, and also sent a letter to the queen to the same effect. I next made him proceed in state to the graves of his murdered relatives, and then demanded justice on the murderers of the royal family. Having no more time I quit the city to-day, and leave his highness to chew the cud of mortification.

"You should keep up the *funk* I have established, and all will be right.

"I have quite a menagerie of old women and young children on board the Phlegethon, with a few men, the unhappy survivors and dependants of Muda Hassim's family.

"Believe me,

"Yours, very sincerely,

"JAMES BROOKE.

"To Captain Rodney Mundy, R.N."

1846.

It appears certain that, however desirous the sultan may have been to secure a personal interview with Mr. Brooke, his highness will not admit me to his presence, for the report gains ground that he has betaken himself again to the jungle. I shall, however, go up with all my force to-morrow, and to the best of my power endeavour to carry out the views of the rajah.

CHAP. VII.

ARRIVAL AT BRUNÈ. — GAY APPEARANCE OF THE RIVER. — AUDIENCE WITH PANGERAN MUMIN. — SAIL FROM BORNEO RIVER. — ANCHOR OFF KIMANIS. — THREATENED ATTACK OF PIRATES. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE. — PIRATICAL TRIBE OF SARANG. — CHASE OF PRAHUS. — PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION TO DESTROY SARANG. — PREVENTED BY A GALE. — DANGEROUS NAVIGATION. — DRIVEN INTO MALLUDU BAY. — CRITICAL POSITION OF THE IRIS. — REGAIN AMBONG. — SUCCESS OF THE OPERATIONS. — ILLANUNS FINALLY DRIVEN FROM THE NORTH WEST COAST OF BORNEO.

1846. Aug. 27. *Aug.* 27. — FINE clear weather and clear sky. At day-light the pinnace, barge, cutters, and whale boat under the orders of Lieutenant Little, with a small detachment of marines, proceeded up the river, and were joined off Cherimon island by the pinnace and two cutters of the Hazard. The flotilla then passed on to the city. I had given Lieutenant Little orders to moor the boats in two lines in front of pangeran Mumin's house, with sufficient room for Commander Egerton and myself to pass between in our gigs, and that the marines should be drawn up at the wharf as a body-guard, it being in the first instance explained to the prince that this small guard of honour was an European custom, and that my visit would be amicable, though I had at the same time business of importance to transact. Some hours afterwards I left the Iris in my galley,

Beauty, and, accompanied by Commander Egerton, arrived at pangeran Mumin's house at noon. 1846.

It was really a gay sight. How different from my first entry into this singular capital. Then, no human being was seen. Now, the inhabitants looked upon our armed boats and red-coated marines as a spectacle. The face of the river was literally covered with canoes, and the verandahs crowded by the *fair*, indulging their curiosity, whilst the children in hundreds screamed with delight. Not so, however, the pangeran who governed the city, for the sultan, on hearing of my intended approach, had again retired into the interior, giving me reason to suppose that he was going to play the old game again. As I took Mumin's hand, it trembled like an aspen leaf, and his first words were those of excuse for the want of faith on the part of his sovereign, which the minister feared might lead to a renewal of hostilities. My political business was short. I merely told him that in the absence of the Great Lord who ruled the sea, I was acting in his place on the coast of Borneo; that I punished the evil with fire and sword, but protected the good, and fostered trade; that the sultan had nothing to fear from me as long as he should abstain from piracy and acts of violence; that I was a military man, and had nothing to do with their mode of government beyond seeing that the treaties were respected and commerce unmolested. In short, let them do well and

1846. I was their friend; let them do evil and I should burn and utterly destroy their city.

The officers presently joined us, and after an hour's chat on indifferent subjects we took our leave. I observed that all the chiefs around paid great attention to the interpreter, and my impression was that they were satisfied with my statement and its justice. Meanwhile the crews of the boats got their dinners, and many a duck and fowl changed hands for fathoms of English calico; but the natives during this visit were desirous of dollars, which they would hardly look at on our first arrival, and which, I may here mention, are of no value whatever on any other part of the coast.

Having reached the Hazard, then moored off Cherimon, I got under weigh and proceeded to the anchorage alongside the Iris, the boats having made thirty-four miles during the day. So much for the state visit. Mr. Brooke had asked me to keep up the funk he had established, and in this I certainly succeeded; but I left the city fully persuaded that those in authority were still inclined to be hostile to every measure we might pursue for the suppression of piracy, however oily might be their promises and professions. Before my departure, I told Mumin plainly how dissatisfied I was at the sultan's retiring again into the jungle when I had sent an officer expressly to assure him that there was no cause for apprehension; and, I added, that, in consequence of the critical position of Kimanis since the defeat of Hajji Saman at Mambakut, I should return

instantly to that district, and should probably revisit Brunè in a month's time, when I trusted the sultan would grant me an audience and arrange terms for peace on a more secure basis. 1846.

Aug. 28. — Sailed from the Borneo River at daylight with the Hazard in company. The weather squally, with thunder, lightning, and heavy rain; wind variable, between south and west. Anchored at dusk off the island of Labuan. Aug. 28.

Aug. 29. — Both ships got under weigh early, and, with fresh breezes from the southward, passed through the narrow channel to the eastward of Labuan. In the forenoon the weather became finer, and after rounding the small island of Lobedan, I shaped the course for Pulo Tiga, keeping, as nearly as I could judge, about the same distance from the main land as when the squadron passed along the coast in July. Aug. 29.

About eleven A.M., being under all sail, with studding sails on both sides, and going between five and six knots, with an average depth of fifteen fathoms, we suddenly shoaled to eleven, and the next cast gave nine. I happened to be walking the deck at the time, and, after ordering the helm to be put hard a-port and hands by the anchor, stepped into the gangway just as the leads-man called out by the mark five. The look-out-man, at the masthead, at this moment reported broken water all round the ship; but the wind being now a-beam, with the sails shaking, we gradually lost our way, and, in a couple of minutes, from five shoaled to four, and

1846. then to three and a half fathoms. At this moment dark coral rocks, within three feet of our keel, distinctly showed us their fantastic shapes through the clear blue sea, and whilst the sail was shortening, I momentarily expected to hear the crash of the kelson against the latest coral formations, and that we should remain a beacon for the Hazard, at this period about two miles astern, to which vessel I had immediately made the signal of standing into danger. The chances of hauling off into deeper water, or of grounding, being about equal, it was not advisable to anchor in little more than the ship's draught: so we waited patiently for ten minutes, drifting about in a patch of between three and four fathoms, and then gradually deepened to seven, nine, and fifteen, and in half-an-hour were again on our course to the eastward.

It was evident that we had discovered a new and very dangerous shoal. Exact bearings were therefore taken, and its position ascertained, and on examining the chart afterwards, it appeared that the Agincourt must have passed about a quarter of a mile to seaward of it, with all the squadron, after leaving Labuan.

At dusk anchored off Kimanis, Hazard in company.

Aug. 30. *Aug.* 30. — The orang-kaya came on board with a large retinue, and reported that Hajji Saman had sent him word that, although defeated by the English in the river Mambakūt, he was strong enough to attack Kimanis by land from the

mountains, and that, having joined his forces to the Dyaks of the interior, he should come down and destroy the town. 1846.

To meet this invader the orang-kaya and chiefs of Kimanis had not been idle. Thirty guns had been mounted either in the houses, or in positions commanding the roads, and the jungle had been "planted with ranjows," that is, large bamboo spikes had been fixed in every direction in great numbers — as many as twenty thousand, they told us, were stuck about; in short, a proper spirit seemed to have animated them for the protection of their homes and altars, and I was myself gratified to observe that they had acted up to the advice I had given them ten days previously, and had placed confidence in my promise of occasionally visiting and assisting them, if the people would only show a determination to exert themselves.

In the course of conversation the orang-kaya, who professed to be a rigid Mussulman, as all his ancestors had been before him, assured me that, though he had considered it his duty to follow my recommendation of putting the town in a state of defence, and of collecting together all the able-bodied men of the district, still, at the same time, he wished me to understand that he himself put little faith in these works of the flesh, as the Dyaks who threatened him were infidels, unholy and abominable, and therefore the God of the Prophet Mohamed would never suffer them to triumph

1846. over the faithful. I thought I observed a half-suppressed smile on the countenance of the old chief as he propounded this doctrine to the interpreter, and the latter, a Malay of Singapore, and also a Mohamedan, grinned outright as he put the phrase into tolerable English. I received the message, however, with due solemnity; reminding him simply, that the man who commanded the "infidel invaders" was Hajji Saman — not only a Mussulman, but a *holy* pilgrim; and therefore it was just possible that the Prophet, if not inclined to favour the arms of the disciple who had visited Mecca, might at any rate remain "neutral;" consequently, even on religious grounds alone, it was necessary to be prepared. I could have added, that if the orang-kaya had such perfect confidence in the protection of his Prophet, the presence of the ships of war was quite unnecessary, and might then have expressed my surprise at his having entreated me to return to his assistance; but as my reply seemed to strike the old gentleman as equally absurd as his own remark, I let the subject drop, and proceeded again to business.

A messenger was immediately sent off to the Dyak chief Sebundo, who ruled in the river Mambākut, and whose tribe had joined Hajji Saman, to acquaint him that if they advanced across the boundary to attack Kimanis, I would again enter the river Mambākut, and destroy all the fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and every village on the banks of the stream which my boats could reach; and it was

for him to decide for peace or war. A second messenger was also despatched to Hajji Saman, pointing out to him the destruction which he would bring upon his Dyak friend if he persisted in his warlike measures against Kimanis. In conclusion, I informed both these chiefs that I was going to the north coast to destroy a piratical town, and that I should return here in a fortnight, when I should hope to hear that my advice had been taken. 1846.

I had sent Lieutenant Heath early to the town to make further inquiries as to the exact position of the piratical town of Sarang; and, on his return, he brought me word that it was only a few miles distant from the Batomandé rocks, off which the boats of the Royalist had destroyed the Illanun prahus; but that the bar of the river was impassable, except for boats of light draft.

This town of Sarang is the last remaining nest of the Illanuns on the coast. We must endeavour to strike a blow there, and then grub them up root and branch.

Aug. 31. — A breeze springing up from the land at two in the morning, the Iris and Hazard got under weigh, and stood along shore to the northward. At daylight three prahus were observed close in with the surf, one of which, in her fear of the approaching ships, was beached and abandoned, and the others disappeared behind the Gaya Islands. Aug. 31.

Our course lay within a few miles of the coast, the soundings averaging twenty fathoms. The

1846. wind, during the afternoon, gradually increased from the westward, bringing with it a considerable swell. We again passed Ambong and Tampassuk, and at sunset anchored off the Pandassan river, in seventeen fathoms, having previously made the signal to prepare boats for service. The weather now cleared up again, and the boats were hoisted out, and the parties told off for duty. By calculation the Iris was anchored about fifteen miles from the river on which stood the town of Sarang, and my intention was to send away the boats of the two ships, in the middle watch, so that, with the aid of the fair monsoon, they might arrive before daylight at the pirates' village, and thus take them by surprise. The force to be embarked in the boats was ninety seamen and twenty-two marines; the whole to be placed under the command of Lieutenant Little. It was, however, destined that the expedition should not be carried out. About nine, P.M., the wind and sea had increased so much, that I did not think it advisable to send the boats away, and they were consequently moored astern for the night; but understanding that, at this season of the year, there was no probability of a continuance of bad weather, I hoped that the morning would bring a favourable change.

Sept. 1. *Sept.* 1. — Heavy squalls from the south-west, with vivid lightning, continued during the night, but early in the morning the wind moderated, and the boats were again in readiness to push off, when fresh gusts and squalls of rain caused me again to

pause, and it was well I did so, for the breeze, now gradually and steadily freshening, brought in a heavy and breaking sea from the westward, and it became necessary to get the ship under weigh and hoist the boats in with all despatch. 1846.

By the time this service was accomplished it blew a fresh gale directly on the shore, from which we were only distant two or three miles, and heavy rain and thick weather setting in, I made the signal to rendezvous in Malludu Bay, and bore up under treble-reefed top-sails to round the dangerous rocks of Simpang Mangiow, which stand out from the extreme north point of Borneo.

The meaning of the words Simpang Mangiow is, I believe, the "pirates' haunt, or place of meeting;" and certainly a better locale for the rendezvous of a fleet of prahus could not be imagined on an open coast, as with all winds smooth water may be found to leeward of some part of this extensive reef. About noon we sighted the outer rock through the haze, running at the time eleven knots, the corvette in company. By two P. M. we were anchored at the edge of a shoal on the western shore of Malludu Bay, but owing to the heavy rollers setting in, both vessels rode uneasily, and though I had veered to seventy fathoms, the holding ground was so bad that the Iris drove more than once into deep water.

Sept. 9. — At anchor in Ambong bay. I do not know that it has been my lot to have passed a more anxious time at sea than that of the last nine days. Sept. 9.

1846. Fully impressed with the belief that the gales from the south-west quarter could not last with any violence, I three times started from Malludu bay, for the purpose of carrying into effect the operations against Sarang, and as often was I obliged, after a day's struggle and attempt to get to the southward, to bear up again to place the frigate in safety. I had always been given to understand that by anchoring at night, on any part of the coast where proper soundings could be obtained, no danger need be apprehended; yet in endeavouring, on several occasions, to do this, I found so heavy and cross a sea running as to render such a step eminently hazardous, and consequently when thick weather suddenly came on, it was entirely by trusting to the lead, and to the occasional sight of the high land, which, at this part of the coast, rises abruptly from the sea, that the ships could be kept in that part of the track, which, from the squadron having passed up abreast, we had reason to hope was free from hidden dangers.

The night of the 7th I may here specially allude to, as it was one of those trials for the nerve which is particularly unpleasant. Having stood over to the western shoals as far as possible, I got a slant of wind, which I hoped would have carried me into this bay by sunset; but on the contrary, as I got in shore, the wind gradually headed, and left me at dark within a few cables' length of the Pandassan rocks, the spot precisely the most dangerous of the whole coast; and with a heavy sea running, and a lee

shore, I could only have anchored as a last resource. The space to manœuvre the ship in, which we believed to be clear of dangers, may have been a few miles wide, and in moderate weather, I should not have thought of keeping under weigh, as we were quite in ignorance both of the tides and of the exact positions of the coral reefs. With the heavy sea now running, I could not do otherwise; so, close reefing the sails, I stood off and on, judging my distance from the land by its appearance, as occasionally seen through the incessant and brilliant flashes of lightning. The rain continued in torrents during the night, and the gale blew with unabated fury till daylight—the watch constantly on deck, and hands by the anchor. Blue lights were burnt hourly for the Hazard, about which vessel I felt great anxiety, as she had not been able to make anything to windward, and was hull down when last seen from the masthead. 1846.

In the morning she was nowhere visible, and I feared she had again been driven into Malludu bay, for I knew the gallant commander would not think of bearing up unless fairly obliged to do so. During this cruize we had several times stood in shore towards "Sarang," so that the pirates must have plainly observed our manœuvres, and must have been astonished to see the ships cruizing in the offing in such weather. It was, however, very evident that this remnant of the Illanuns were quite secure from any attack from us till there should be a complete change in the weather, and

1846. that all I could hope was that the constant presence of the squadron would show them that their destruction would surely come to pass in due season, and doubtless by this time they were well aware of our success at the other piratical districts to the southward, and could, therefore, pretty well comprehend the meaning of our movements in their vicinity, and either prepare extra defences or remove their families and property beyond the reach of our arms.

We anchored in this bay last night, and, having made all secure, the people had a regular good night in; which they much required, and which I was glad to give them. The Iris has decidedly a fine ship's company. The commander-in-chief, on inspecting her, told me that there was only one other ship under his command with such a crew; and this vessel, I believe, was the Wolf. But my fellows had been somewhat broken by the last few months' hard work on the coast, and by the inland campaigns; and, as our provisions are now running short, I shall not be sorry to revisit Singapore, and allow them a three days' run on shore, an amount of leave which I invariably give when the service admits of it; as, out of one watch, the greater part will usually return on board within that period, whereas, with less leave, most of the men are sure to break it, and be punished for the same. When I speak of granting three days' leave at once, I of course only allude to those foreign stations where the opportunity of allowing the seamen liberty does

1846.

not often occur; probably it may, at most, be twice or three times in the year; and long leave under these circumstances will always be found to afford more satisfaction, and to work better for the discipline of the ship, than screwing the fellows up to a short period, and having the marines or the police to be dodging them on shore, eventually bringing them off under the character of prisoners.

Sept. 10. — At daylight this morning I had the satisfaction of seeing the Hazard in the offing; and shortly before noon she anchored alongside of us. Captain Egerton came on board, and reported that he had found it impossible to make any headway for several days, and that the gale had at one time driven him completely over to the Island of Balanbangan, but that a favourable slant last night had brought him along. The Hazard having only three or four days' water left, I supplied her with five tons, and in the afternoon went on shore to visit the chiefs, and see our old friends, and obtain a further supply of bullocks. The intelligence which I received from the orang-kaya was highly satisfactory. Lieutenant Heath, my man-of-all-work and interpreter, had ascertained that the inhabitants of Sarang, justly feeling the impossibility of offering a successful resistance to our force, had decided on evacuating the place; and, having been joined by the fugitives from Pandassan and Tampassuk, they had removed their families and goods, and gone across the country to the district of Tunkŭ, on the eastern shores of Borneo. Sept. 10.

1846. Thus had our operations on the north-west coast been quite successful, and that paragraph of the instructions of the commander-in-chief which related to the Illanuns being entirely driven away from these parts been fully accomplished. Of the truth of the statement we could not reasonably doubt, as the inhabitants of Ambong, having so long suffered from the ravages of these pirates, were more likely to express a fear of their return, and to beg me to remain with the ships for their protection, than to declare that they had no longer any apprehensions from that quarter. The fact of such inveterate enemies, who for the space of forty years had been fixed on the boundary of the district of Ambong, being utterly expelled, was a subject of general rejoicing; and well might these simple-minded and quiet people be thankful to the white man for the aid afforded to them in their utmost need, and for the opening of a trade which promised to be so beneficial to every class of the aboriginal inhabitants.

As usual, I took on board as many bullocks as we could carry, and, in addition to the vegetables brought to the beach on former occasions, we had sweet potatoes, onions, and limes. I recommended the chief to encourage the "pumpkin," which is always valuable to seamen, and which he promises to grow in large quantities.

After a kind farewell I returned on board, and at eleven P.M. made the night signal for the Hazard to weigh, and both ships stood out of the bay with

a light breeze from the land, and we again steered a course for Kimanis, which place, it will be remembered, I left a fortnight ago, menaced with a siege by the redoubtable Hajji Saman, aided by the Dyaks of Mambakūt. 1846.

CHAP. VIII.

NEWS FROM BRUNÈ. — VIOLENT WEATHER. — SUCCESS OF THE THREATS AGAINST HAJJI SAMAN. — VISITS FROM THE ORANG-KAYA OF KIMANIS. — DEPUTATIONS FROM BENONI AND PAPPAR. — FRIENDLY OVERTURES. — ARRIVE AT THE BRUNÈ RIVER. — CHARTS OF THE EASTERN SEAS. — DEATH AND BURIAL OF THE COXSWAIN. — FLEET OF TRADING PRAHUS. — INTELLIGENCE FROM THE CAPITAL. — DEPUTATION FROM THE SULTAN. — REFUSAL OF HIS PRESENTS. — AUDIENCE WITH HIS HIGHNESS. — SUPERSTITIOUS CEREMONY. — CONVERSATIONS. — SINGULARITY OF MR. BROOKE'S POSITION. — THE SULTAN'S PEDIGREE.

1846.
Sept. 12.

September 12.—WORKING to the southward, Hazard in company. In the afternoon observed a large prahu running for the land; gave chase, and boarded her. She proved to be a Brunè trading vessel, and gave me the information of the sultan's return to the capital, with his wives and family, and of his having taken up his quarters in the new palace. I therefore trust that his highness has decidedly made up his mind to adhere to his late engagements, and that the energetic policy of Sir Thomas Cochrane may have had the desired effect. Towards the evening we sighted the high land in the neighbourhood of Kimanis; the weather had now become again unsettled, but, aided by the bright flashes of the lightning, we continued our course along the land, and, having run the distance, anchored at midnight in thirteen fathoms.

1846.
Sept. 13.

Sept. 13.—Heavy rain, with incessant thunder and lightning, and when daylight broke, we found ourselves three miles from the river's mouth. We weighed at this time, and shifted our berth close in, and sent the boats away immediately for water. Lieut. Heath was also despatched to the town for news of the war, and returned very shortly with the gratifying intelligence of the complete success of my joint messages to the Borneo and Dyak chiefs, Hajji Saman and Sebundo. The threat of destroying the fruit trees and the remaining villages at Mambakūt had detached the Dyak warriors from the cause of Hajji Saman, and Sebundo had immediately withdrawn his tribes from the vicinity of Kimanis, and declared his intention of no longer giving any assistance to his Borneo friend.

In the afternoon the orang-kaya came on board the Iris to pay me a visit, and was in the highest spirits at the satisfactory result of the negotiations, and at my appearing again so true to the appointed time. He assured me, that henceforth there would be nothing for the people of Kimanis to fear, that Hajji Saman had retired again into the interior, quite subdued, and that he would soon be reduced to submit to any terms we might offer, and that all the rivers on this part were favourably disposed to us. The inhabitants of Benoni and of Qualla-lama, hitherto inimical to Kimanis, had made overtures of peace since they had observed the ships so constantly on the coast; and he could not express how grateful he was to me for the protec-

1846. tion and assistance I had given to himself and his people. We had, as usual, a large concourse of natives on board with the chief, but they all conducted themselves well; and though it is very trying to the patience to entertain for so many hours a set of men whose language is not understood, and whose every word must be regiven by the interpreter, yet it is a pleasurable feeling to observe how much the natives appreciate a kind and gentle reception, and how grateful they are for any attention. Just after I had dismissed my guests the weather set in bad, with a heavy swell, and as we were at anchor within half a mile of the bar, preparations were made for slipping, topsails were close reefed, courses reefed, and boats hoisted in; however, it moderated again in the evening, and we held on in our berth.

Sept. 14. *Sept.* 14. — This forenoon I received another visit from the orang-kaya, and my cabins were again invaded by new tribes. The chiefs of Benoni and of Pappar, two rivers to the northward, adjoining the territory of Kimanis, and who had long been on what is called "not speaking terms," *i. e.*, ready and active in doing each other every possible injury when the opportunity offered, sent a deputation to say that they were desirous, under the shelter of my friendship and protection, to join the confederation in favour of European trade, and to act up to the proposals and wishes of their esteemed lord the "Tuan Besar," Rajah Brooke.

In consequence of these friendly overtures, I

ordered Captain Egerton to take on board a party of the natives, and proceed to the anchorage off Pappar; there to communicate with the authorities, and bring about the desired accommodation, and specially to point out my desire that they should be united with Kimanis, make common cause against the pirates, and treat hospitably the crews of all vessels which might be wrecked on the coast. 1846.

In the evening, both ships having completed water, and received bullocks, got under weigh, the Iris bound once more to the river Brunè, and the corvette on the mission above stated.

Sept. 18. — River Brunè. On the night of the 16th we anchored in our old berth, having passed round to the westward of Labuan with soundings so irregular that I am sure it will be necessary, for the safety of the vessels, to have these waters well surveyed before an active communication is undertaken, or we must expect ere long some great disaster. The Iris has already had a great many narrow escapes. It would be very desirable to ascertain how far vessels may stand off the land to the northward and westward of Labuan, and whether the numerous shoals and reefs dotted all over the old charts have any existence. To run down this coast with a favourable monsoon and in fine weather, when anchorage could be had every night, was found no easy matter by the squadron in July last, and several of the ships struck the ground more than once; it will then easily be imagined that to work up in thick and squally weather must Sept. 18.

1846. be hazardous until some chart giving the channels is completed. However, as Sir Thomas Cochrane knows from experience what the coast is, he will doubtless make arrangements for the necessary survey, for I conclude that the orders of Sir Edward Belcher were confined to the rectification of the coast line and to those higher branches of the surveyor's department, which, though doubtless of great importance to the scientific world in general, in no way benefit the practical navigator, who is far more desirous of knowing the average depth of the water below him than the exact height of the mountains above him, and who would greatly prefer instruction as to the soundings round any given point of land, beneath the lee of which he might seek for shelter, than be made thoroughly acquainted with its altitude and geological conformation.

I have always thought that the duties of the surveying officer on a new coast should, in the *first place*, be confined to ascertaining the general soundings, so that the navigator may at once have some acquaintance with the nature of the road over which he is to travel; and that, in conjunction with these general soundings, the best places to run for in case of bad weather should also be carefully noted; the more scientific branches may be *afterwards* carried forward.

Whilst upon this subject my thoughts naturally revert to the admirable charts of Captain Collinson, of the eastern coast of China, rough drafts

of which were given by that talented and amiable officer to Sir Thomas Cochrane, long before their completion, and from which I myself received the greatest benefit, having, by their assistance, frequently succeeded in making quick passages against the violence of the north-east monsoon, and without which, on one occasion, I certainly should not have managed to beat the frigate through the Formosa Channel. 1846.

Yesterday morning, at daylight, I buried my coxswain, David Waterman. I went away in the gig, accompanied by all the boats, and his body was committed to the deep in the centre of the stream. This measure alone proved the miserable state of the land, for, uncertain as to the feelings of many of the natives on the sea board, and knowing that the pirate fleets annually visit the coast, I hardly thought it safe to dig a grave on shore.

My coxswain had never recovered from the effects of fever caught during the expedition into the interior — poor fellow, he was a good seaman, and had been always most useful to me, and his loss I shall not easily replace. After the funeral I despatched Lieutenant Heath to the capital with instructions to visit the prime minister, to announce my arrival in the river, and to desire him to acquaint the sultan that I proposed to myself the honour of paying his highness a visit on the day after to-morrow. I may here mention, that as we came along the coast from Kimanis we fell in with

1846. a large number of prahus, which, now fully aware of our character, stood directly towards the ship, hoisting each a white flag, and appearing proud to show us that they were trading vessels. I boarded several of them, and found they were bound to Pappar and Kimanis, and after the usual trifling presents of a few yards of cloth and some biscuit, they proceeded rejoicingly on their voyage. At night Lieutenant Heath returned from the city, bringing the intelligence that all was going on satisfactorily; he had been well received in all quarters, and confidence was completely restored. His highness also sent me a message that he should be prepared to receive me at the hour and on the day which I had proposed, but that he should previously send a deputation to welcome my return to the river.

Accordingly this forenoon several pangerans, and other men of rank, presented themselves on board the Iris, bringing a letter for me from the sultan, containing an infinity of complimentary sentences in the oriental style, and begging me to accept a boat laden with bullocks, poultry, and vegetables, assuring me that "I was held in the highest esteem by his highness, that my countenance was beautiful, and that I was number one of the officers appointed by the Queen Royal of Europe, and was all powerful in goodness; that the presents were offered by a heart of brilliant purity; by a white heart, namely, by the heart of Sultan Omar Ali, the son of the deceased Saint the Royal Sultan Mohamed, who

was the elegance of the world, and the servant of the Lord of All the Hosts." I do not know whether the sovereigns of Borneo belong to the orthodox body of Mussulmans, or to the sect now paramount in Persia; but after the bloody deeds enacted by the present sultan, I should imagine that the opinions above expressed of his own virtues were rather overrated, and that neither party would be desirous of claiming him as a follower. 1846.

I had determined not to receive any presents until the audience had been accomplished, and until I could judge, from a personal interview with the sovereign, of the real position of our affairs at the capital. I, therefore, civilly refused to accept the proffered gifts, but expressed myself highly gratified by the sultan's kind letter, and dismissed the princes with many assurances of my belief that the troubles of Borneo were at an end, and that to-morrow would be a day ever to be remembered in the annals of their beautiful country, as the one in which a lasting peace would be concluded between the Queen of Europe and the sultan; all of which complimentary language, in their own style, they appeared to be highly pleased with. At any rate, they passed over the ship's side in high spirits, and probably, as they plainly see that they can no longer play the bully, with any hope of success, they may have determined to make the best of the lesson administered by the fleet, and may, henceforth, take really to heart the advice of their moral conqueror the English rajah. Meantime, I must

1846. make preparations for my state visit to-morrow, when I must do the best I can.

Sept. 19. *Sept.* 19.—At daylight the pinnace, barge, cutters, and gig, under the orders of Lieutenant Heath, left the ship for the city, Lieutenant Alexander, with a body of marines, embarking in the boats. I desired Lieutenant Heath to anchor in line opposite the sultan's house, and to draw the marines up on shore. on the terrace leading to the audience-hall. At half-past seven I left the ship in the galley, with my aide-de-camp Mr. Forde, overtook the boats at Cherimon, and reached the capital at half-past eleven, rowing the seventeen miles in three hours and a half, against wind, but with a slight flood-tide. The sultan received me at the entrance of the audience-hall, and the marines, who were drawn up in a position directly enfilading the divan, presented arms as I stepped over the threshold, and made their pieces tell well together. I observed the old monarch tremble in his slippers, and look round with amazement; for the landing of the body was very much against his will, and he evidently entertained a slight suspicion that, as he well merited punishment, I would act as his highness undoubtedly would have done in my place, namely, kidnap him by treachery. He appeared about sixty years of age, his countenance evidencing imbecility and hypocrisy. He has two thumbs on his right hand; is five feet five inches in height; thin and meagre of limb. He was well dressed, his manner and deportment thorough bred, and he was treated

with marked respect by the numerous princes and magnates who thronged the hall. He offered his hand to me, and led me to a seat, and his carriage was gentleman-like, though he continued to look distrustfully at the marines, whose propinquity appeared to the last very distasteful to him. However, I had previously assured him that the guard was for my own protection, and that recent occurrences prevented my appearing in the city except in force. The hall had been entirely built during the last three weeks. 1846.

After presenting all my officers, I informed his highness that I had words for his private ear, and wished to know if there was an apartment at hand where I could speak with him alone. He rose immediately and led me through a long corridor to an open chamber, which commanded a view of the river. He then ordered a large wax taper to be lit and placed before us, and explained that this was witness of the pureness of his heart, and of the oath which he was ready to make of his goodwill to his sister, the "Queen of Europe," for so the Borneans style our gracious sovereign. I then gave him the following information, viz.: that I should not interfere in any way in his government, but that England would expect the ministers he appointed should be good men, favourable to Europeans and to lawful commerce, exact in the observance of treaties, and active in discountenancing piracy in his dominions; that a grave outrage had been committed by firing upon the English flag,

1846. and that I was unable to say what redress would be considered sufficient; that I knew there were several bad men in the city, formerly in his councils, but as his highness was aware of the opinion of her Majesty's political agent on that subject, I should give myself no trouble about it; that those evil counsellors, however, ought to be punished. The sultan assured me, in reply, that he was ready to submit to any terms that the British admiral or Mr. Brooke should dictate; that he would deliver up for punishment the four persons who had been most active in hostilities against us, but that he prayed forgiveness for the princes Hassim, Tuzzudeen, Tāmet, and Illudeen, who were not the bad men they were represented to be, and would henceforth be the best friends of England; that for the future he would fulfil all the terms required, and that his government should be strictly just.

I really pitied the poor sovereign, alarmed, humiliated, and crest fallen; he clung to the hope that I would assure him of the pardon of Great Britain. I could see the dread he entertained of the next visit of the ships in force, believing that the Queen of England would depose him, and put another prince on the throne. I replied, that as I knew nothing of the histories of the eight princes he had named, I could do no more than mention to Mr. Brooke the observation of his highness, but that justice he would certainly receive at the hands of our government, and that all depended on his own conduct; that I was going immediately to Sarāwak,

and would convey any letters he might wish to write to Mr. Brooke. Finally, I told him, that I had remarked that he had built an entirely new palace since our destruction of the old one, and that many other new houses were in course of erection, and I further observed, that it would be much more agreeable to me to protect his capital than to burn it to the ground, which would assuredly be its fate, if wicked men again prevailed in his councils, and I took occasion to remind him of the chastisement we had inflicted upon Tampassuk, Pandassan, and Mambākut. The sultan again swore by the Prophet, in honour of whom he had just fasted thirty days, that his heart was in the right place, that he had never forgot the kindness of the admiral to him last year, that he had given positive orders to Hajji Saman, who commanded the forts, not to fire on us, but that that chieftain would not obey him; that he was now a fugitive in the mountains, and would soon be arrested and executed. After a few more words I took my leave, and re-embarked under another salute at one P. M., and got on board at five. 1846.

The capital, during my visit, was crowded with every description of prahu and canoe, and, as on a former occasion, it was quite a gala day for the inhabitants; and certainly every thing was done to give me a proper reception. Mumin, too, was quite a different man, and appeared to believe in the advent of better days. Of the sincerity of the sultan I can only judge by appearances; building

1846. a new palace, and repairing the damages of the captured city would be folly, if submission to our terms were not intended. Time only, however, can demonstrate this, but my opinion is, that if our government should order another assembly of ships off the capital, the inhabitants would not again flee into the jungle, and that the Bornean government would be quite submissive to the will of rajah Brooke, who, in plain words, is, at this moment, *de facto sovereign* of the whole coast of Borneo Proper, from point Api to Malludu, 700 miles in extent!

What an extraordinary position for an English gentleman to be placed in, and how has he managed to receive the homage of so vast a population? By unremitting kindness and attention to the natives of every description, during a seven years' residence in the heart of their country. What could be more remarkable, than the voluntary gathering of the rajahs off Kimanis, last month, just before our attack on Mambākut. People who had never seen him, and only heard from other tribes of his benevolence and good government at Sarāwak, flocked to his standard, ready to give their lives in his cause. Then, how romantic his march into the interior, in pursuit of his great enemy, the treacherous sultan; a decisive measure, undertaken by orders of the admiral, which terminated in the total submission of the most ancient Mohamedan sovereign of the east, and finally placed him at the mercy of the English rajah.

1846.

I may here remark, that the sultan informed me, that his family had supplied the last twenty-five reigning princes, a circumstance of which his highness seemed exceedingly proud, and which he hoped might be considered by our government as a reason for supporting him on the throne of his ancestors. Whether this statement of his pedigree be correct or not I cannot pretend to say, but having a great respect for old families and the aristocracy, generally, I was glad to hear this sentiment, even though it were spoken by a degenerate Mussulman, and I sincerely hope, that it may not be too late to revive the ancient prosperity of the kingdom of Borneo, and that further atrocious conduct on the part of the royal family may not compel the British government to interfere in the succession.

CHAP. IX.

SUCCESS OF THE MISSION TO PAPPAR AND BENONI. — COMPLIMENTARY LETTER AND PRESENT FROM THE SULTAN. — DANGEROUS NAVIGATION. — THE "PRETTY IRIS." — ARRIVAL AT SARĀWAK. — MR. BROOKE AND THE NATIVE CHIEFS. — NEWS OF A CHANGE OF MINISTRY. — DEATH OF CAPTAIN MAITLAND. — THE SULTAN'S LETTER TO MR. BROOKE. — VISIT TO THE DATU BANDAR. — PROGRESS OF INDUSTRY. — THE FORT. — MR. BROOKE'S MILITARY FORCES. — EUROPEAN RESIDENTS IN SARĀWAK. — TAKE LEAVE OF MR. BROOKE. — PROSPECTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. — DEATH OF LIEUTENANT MATHEWS. — THE FUNERAL. — ARRIVAL OFF SINGAPORE. — NEWS OF REINFORCEMENT. — PROBABLE OCCUPATION OF LABUAN. — ARRIVAL OF THE WOLF. — ORDERS TO TAKE POSSESSION OF LABUAN. — EXTRACT FROM SIR T. COCHRANE'S DESPATCH.

1846. Sept. 20. *Sept.* 20. — THE Hazard rejoined this morning, and Captain Egerton reports that his mission to Pappar and Benoni had been successful, and that both districts had joined the "pacific alliance." Heavy rain continued during the day, but this did not prevent several native boats from bringing provisions to the ships seventeen miles; and having completed our stock of bullocks, we hoisted in the boats, and prepared for sea.

Sept. 21. *Sept.* 21. — Weighed at daylight, and stood over to Labuan. At ten a large prahu came alongside,

and several of the pangerans from Brunè presented themselves in my cabin, bringing dispatches from the sultan for Sir Thomas Cochrane and Mr. Brooke. His highness also did me the honour to address a complimentary epistle to me, expressive of his sense of my polite demeanour, and begging me to accept a gold-handled kris, which he hoped I would keep in remembrance of my visit. 1846.

This was rather a puzzler. I was not desirous of accepting the gift, yet I did not wish to refuse a civil offer, made just after the audience which had passed off so satisfactorily. I therefore requested the bearer to accompany me into the side cabin, and then depositing the weapon in one of my boxes, explained that I should keep it in that place till I returned to Brunè from Singapore, whither I was bound to replenish provisions; and that if I found, on my next visit, that the sultan was really sincere, and that good men were around him as ministers, I would retain it as a present which I should prize most highly; but if otherwise, that I should be obliged to send it to him again, and should consider that I had been intentionally treated with disrespect. Pangeran Illudeen, who was the individual thus addressed, declared himself satisfied with my proposition, and shortly afterwards the deputation left the frigate, when both vessels hauled to the wind, and worked to the southward. I found that, in turning to windward along this coast, it was seldom necessary to caution the leadsmen to pay attention to their

1846. duty, as every man on board knew the irregularity
Nov. 3. of the soundings, and seemed conscious of the necessity of a sharp look-out. This afternoon our average depth was thirteen fathoms, but at one cast we got five a few miles to the south-west of Roosookan, but putting immediately on the other tack, we deepened again to the old depth. At dusk it fell calm, heavy rain came down, and thunder and lightning continued during the night. Anchored, at ten P.M., in twelve fathoms.

Sept. 22. *Sept.* 22. — We weighed at daylight, and with a light favourable breeze, at the distance of ten miles from the land, shaped a course for Tanjong Barram. Our soundings were thirteen fathoms, but again we found our way upon an extensive shoal, on which we discovered four and a half and five fathoms; and the water being smooth and clear, we could plainly trace the coral formations in the ocean's bed. The boats were quickly lowered, to assist in towing the ship into deep water, which we accomplished after undergoing the usual quantum of anxiety; and I began to imagine myself especially fortunate, in these my unintentional surveys of the coast, at not having yet discovered a spot over which the frigate could not float, though on one occasion the leadsman gave "a quarter three;" just eighteen inches above the draught of water of the Iris, when well by the stern.

Frequently have the boats been down, pulling round the ship, with orders to toss up their oars whenever a cast of three fathoms should be got,

1846.

this manœuvre being the preparatory signal for dropping the anchor immediately, whilst at the same time the men in the chains were exercising their musical voices to the extremely disagreeable stanza of "and a half three, and a half three," sometimes rendered more palatable by the variation of "quarter less four;" nautical sounds which were listened to with impressive silence by the officers and ship's company, who, conjointly with the captain each moment expected that the false keel would be damaged, or portions of the copper displaced by coming in contact with the latest submarine formations; and who looked with horror at the possibility of any such accident as would diminish the sailing qualities of the "Pretty Iris." The "Pretty Iris!" this may appear a fanciful expression, therefore in order to avoid the imputation of a misplaced vanity, I may here remark, that I make use of it advisedly, as on a memorable occasion, when sailing in company with the Flag Ship, and when the weatherly qualities of the Agincourt were specially apparent, the admiral by a remarkable signal made known to the ships in company his opinion of the beauty of the frigate; and though I may readily admit that the message, under existing circumstances, may have been a simple compliment conveyed through a telegraphic medium, still it may be supposed that after so public an advertisement of one of the distinguishing features of the Iris, she maintains to the present day the appellation to which I have alluded.

1846. In the afternoon I gave Captain Egerton orders to proceed with all despatch to Singapore, there to refit and replenish provisions, whilst we shaped a course along the coast for Sarāwak, the wind gradually freshening up with rain, thunder and lightening. Soundings during the night between ten and nineteen fathoms, frequently the squalls were heavy, and the ship was reduced to topsails on the cap.

I was sorry to receive this evening an unfavourable report of the health of Lieutenant Mathews, who was taken ill shortly after our return from the march into the interior, and had been on the sick list ever since.

Sept. 27. *Sept.* 27. — During the last five days we have been working to windward against the south-west monsoon, with heavy rains and squally weather, and rounded Tanjong Sirik yesterday. About nine this evening, whilst standing with a strong breeze towards the land, we observed, through the aid of brilliant flashes of lightning, the high promontory of Santobong, and at midnight having run the distance, and suddenly getting soundings in thirteen fathoms from no bottom at thirty, we anchored immediately, and fortunate it was that we had carried on sail to the last, as in less than a quarter of an hour after the ship brought up, the wind chopped round to the southward, and blew with great violence.

Sept. 28. *Sarāwak, Sept.* 28. — Daylight showed us the entrance of the Sarāwak river south by east, distant ten miles. Weighed immediately, and shifted our

berth close off Tanjong Po, anchoring there in six fathoms. 1846.

At noon I left the ship in the gig, taking Lieutenant Heath with me, and proceeded to the residence of Mr. Brooke at the town, being most anxious to see him again, and to hear how things were going on in his province. The distance we had to pull was twenty-four miles, and the tide being against us, it was eight P.M. before we reached the residence of the rajah. We found him in perfect health, seated at the head of his table, and occupied in giving an account, to a few native chiefs assembled in the room, of our late campaign against the sultan, to which these people appeared to be listening with mute astonishment and delight; and which history, Brooke subsequently told me, he was obliged to repeat over and over again to fresh parties, as they arrived from the interior for the double purpose of congratulating their lord and governor on his safe return amongst them, and of hearing from his own lips the deeds which he had performed.

On this same evening the Julia, Mr. Brooke's schooner, arrived from Singapore, and brought the intelligence of the resignation of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, and the accession of their opponents to power. Let us only have a strong government, and it boots not to a sailor what party rules the country.

I also received the melancholy news of the death

1846. of Commander Maitland of the "Spiteful," of fever, after a few days' illness. I had received a letter from him, written in the highest spirits, only a week before he breathed his last, in which he congratulated himself on having escaped from Borneo, and on his approaching return to India, the climate up the Brunè river not having agreed with him. He was an excellent man, and esteemed by all who knew him. By this opportunity we also heard of the total loss of her Majesty's brig, Osprey, on the New Zealand coast, and of the death of the master of the Ringdove, from the effects of the wounds he had received from the pirates in Malludu Bay.

Sept. 29. *Sept.* 29. — This morning I delivered the sultan's letter to Mr. Brooke, which was opened and read, and found to contain renewed assurances, on the part of his highness, of his intention of being faithful to his late engagements, and of his determination to punish the guilty pangerans. In the evening we had a large party of natives in the hall, and amongst them two of the young princes who had been brought by Brooke to Sarāwak, to save them from the vengeance of the sultan. It was fun and merriment to a late hour; and, as usual, we had some good stories from several of the party.

Sept. 30. *Sept.* 30. — This morning I accompanied Brooke on a visit to the Datu Bandar, who is quite a young man, and the second in rank of the three native rulers appointed by the rajah to govern the town.

He received us with a salute of twenty-one guns, and, with much courtesy, escorted us to the upper room of his new mansion, where we found seated his pretty and youthful wife, having a child of a few months old on her lap, and several attendant maidens around her. She immediately arose, and was apparently in the act of bending forward, with the intention of impressing her ruby lips on the hand of her white lord and supreme ruler, when the action was forestalled by the gallantry of the English rajah, who, reversing the order of the ceremony, gently kissed the taper fingers of the lady Bandar. The interview lasted half an hour, during which the exterior of the house was surrounded by a dense mass of the inhabitants, collected there with the hope of getting a glimpse of their much-loved governor, a desire which was subsequently amply gratified; and I may truly say, that I felt proud of my countryman, and of the opportunity thus afforded me of witnessing the extraordinary enthusiasm with which he was everywhere received. 1846.

The house of the Datu was newly erected, having two stories, which is quite unusual in these countries; it was, moreover, neatly furnished, painted white outside, and in every respect, could boast of more real comfort than any building in the city of Brunè. The rest of the day was occupied by visits to the fort, the smelting establishment for the antimony ore, and by a lounge in the Kling Bazar.

1846. These men are natives of the Malabar country, and Mohamedans, and, I believe, are as great adepts as the Israelites or modern Greeks in the art of successful trading. They deserve, at any rate, the credit of having made the most of the ground allotted to them by the "new government," and feeling that property is now secure, they have erected commodious buildings for their wares, and appear to be thriving.

The fort is small, mounts six long guns, eighteen pounders, and is kept in good order. A covered platform is erected above the battery, for musketry, and the artillerymen, who garrison this outwork, may amount to five-and-twenty, or thirty Malays; the whole commanded by a native officer, who formerly served in the Ceylon rifles. All boats passing up the river, by day and night, are hailed, and each morning a report is made in person to Mr. Brooke. The barracks appeared comfortable, and the corps really respectable. The battery completely commands the short and narrow reach leading to the town, and no pirate force would venture to attack it in its present efficient state; but the expense must be considerable, each soldier receiving about thirty shillings a month besides his food. The magazine is under the care of a young Englishman, named Channon, a faithful servant of Mr. Brooke. I also paid a visit to Mr. Rupell, a sturdy gentleman, who appeared as if he would stand up well for his rights, and who has charge of the "woods and forests."

1846.

I was next introduced to Mr. Hupé, a German missionary; but I imagine, though a respectable and good man, he has not as yet much advanced the cause for which he has been sent into a country, of the latitude and longitude of which it is very probable his masters themselves are not aware. On the left bank of the river, besides the house of the rajah, stands a well-fitted building belonging to Mr. Hentig, a merchant, who having received an allotment on his first arrival, appears to have expended considerable time and care on its improvement, and whose garden and grounds are laid out with much neatness and good taste; the surgeon of the Iris, however, had some reason to be displeased with an arrangement which Mr. Hentig had made to protect his young plants from the wild pigs in the shape of a large pit into which Dr. Whipple nearly fell, and at the bottom of which was a trap of gigantic proportions.

The house of Mr. Crookshanks promises also to be a substantial dwelling, but it is as yet in an unfinished state. Mr. Crookshanks, during the absence of Mr. Brooke, becomes governor *ad interim*, and, I understand, does the work with much firmness and good judgment. I had not an opportunity of examining the residences of the other two English gentlemen who make up the number of Europeans inhabiting the new colony, namely, Doctor Treacher, "physician general of the province," and Mr. Low, naturalist, but they are not behind

1846. hand in the possession of the comforts of their brother exiles. Of the kind hospitality manifested by Doctor Treacher to the officers who chanced to visit Sarāwak, I had often heard, as indeed I had of the other members of this small community: seasonable acts of kindness such as these will, I hope, ever be properly appreciated by all wearing her Majesty's naval button. I was much interested in the account given by Mr. Low of his recent visit into the interior when on a botanical excursion, and gained much information generally respecting the country; he seems an unassuming, intelligent young man. I am only sorry that the great extent of the station which I have to look after precludes the possibility of remaining any length of time in any one place. Mr. Brooke is most anxious that I should accompany him into the interior, and judge for myself of the growing prosperity of the once wretched Dyaks; but provisions run short, and to Singapore I must go to replenish and to refit.

It is, however, satisfactory to think that I shall leave the whole coast in a progressive state of recovery from the horrors which have lately been enacted, and with this quietness over the land, and the knowledge of the security of my friend, I absent myself for a few weeks with better heart than otherwise I should have done.

The question of the Sakarran and Sarēbas pirates has yet to be settled; but the season has passed

for their putting to sea this year, and within the river they are at present inactive. 1846.

October 1.—After an early breakfast I took leave of my friend and "companion of the bivouac," and started on my return to the ship, having willingly promised to revisit Sarāwak at the earliest opportunity, feeling indeed, after the exciting and interesting proceedings of the last four months, the greatest anxiety to be more thoroughly acquainted with the country, and happy if my position as commanding the squadron in Borneo could in any way assist the truly great views of Mr. Brooke,—views which I knew the commander-in-chief believed, if steadily carried out, would be of incalculable benefit to the commerce of Great Britain, the object of all others the most important in my opinion. Mr. Brooke, after years of patience and privation, had now proved that there was nothing visionary and nothing of self interest in his great undertaking; and had he done nothing beyond placing the vast coal district of Borneo at the feet of his country, he would have performed a practical service worthy of no small reward. As I passed out over the bar of the river I was hailed by a native boat which afterwards came alongside, and gave me a letter from the surgeon. It announced the death of one of the seamen, and the dangerous state of Lieutenant Mathews, who had been insensible since daylight. Oct. 1.

I got on board at sunset, and, to my great grief, found that this excellent officer, and truly good

1846. man, had breathed his last a few hours before. I can safely say, that his loss was deeply felt by all on board. All loved him sincerely, and during the whole time he had been with me, he performed his duty to my entire satisfaction. Exposure during our operations on this coast had brought on fever and dysentery, to which he at last fell a victim. In the march into the interior, in pursuit of the sultan, Lieutenant Mathews commanded the main division of the seamen, and was the spirit and life of our party. It was my intention to have sailed to-night with the land breeze; but now I must remain till to-morrow, and perform the last sad duty to my respected shipmate.

Oct. 2. *Oct.* 2.—The morning was ushered in with rain, thunder, and lightning; but it cleared up at nine, and soon afterwards the funeral party left the ship, consisting of myself, as chaplain and chief-mourner, in the gig, and followed by the officers and as many of the ship's company as the boats would contain. A grave had been prepared in a secluded spot, beneath a small cluster of young fir-trees, at about one hundred yards from the landing-place, on a sandy beach, directly opposite the rocky islets off Tanjong Poe. Immediately above this spot rose the towering cliffs of the same name, which are the mark for the outer anchorage off the Sarāwak river, and close beneath ran a small winding stream, which, not a quarter of a mile distant, emptied itself into the sea. The situation was

picturesque. The coffin of Lieut. Mathews was placed by the side of his shipmate, the seaman Chandler; and, having read the funeral service, I returned on board, leaving a party on shore to plant young saplings around the graves. 1846.

In the afternoon I got under weigh with a fresh breeze from the north-west, and continued all night working out of the bay towards Cape Datu.

Oct. 4. — The land of Borneo still in sight near Sambas. Chased two prahus, which proved to be traders. Nothing of note occurred beyond the interesting circumstance of my beautiful Kerry cow having calved, and of a centipede eight inches in length having been found in my cot. Oct. 4.

Oct. 7. — To-day we passed a brig. This is the first European vessel we have seen for many months, none venturing to navigate the north-west coast. Indeed, it would be madness to do so until it has been in some degree surveyed, and cleared of the pirate fleets. Oct. 7.

Oct. 10. — Blowing hard, with heavy rain. At ten A. M. brought up in Singapore roads, the weather at the time so thick, that vessels at anchor a few cables' length distant were not visible. At noon it cleared up, when we discovered her Majesty's ship Hazard in port. The letters came on board. The ticket conveyed to me showed my share to be fifty-four letters and seventy-one newspapers. The house belonging to the recorder having, through the kindness of the governor, Lieutenant Colonel Butterworth, C. B., been placed Oct. 10.

1846. at my disposal, I immediately landed, and was glad to have the opportunity of some days of repose whilst the ship refitted and provisioned.

Nov. 6. *Nov.* 6.— Singapore. After a stay of three weeks in this roadstead, I was about to return to Borneo, when I received a letter from the commander-in-chief from Hongkong, acquainting me of his intention of re-inforcing me with the Wolf, 18, Captain Gordon, and Hon. Company's ship Pluto, and at the same time learnt, by late intelligence from England, that there was every probability of orders being sent to Sir Thomas Cochrane to take immediate possession of the island of Labuan in the name of the Queen; under these circumstances I decided on remaining at this central spot until I should receive further communication from the admiral by one of the promised vessels; and the Hazard was therefore despatched alone to Sarāwak, with orders to remain in the river until my arrival, unless Mr. Brooke should request her services on other parts of his territory. Meanwhile I remained quietly on shore, associating much with Lieutenant Colonel Butterworth, whose generous hospitality is as proverbial throughout the straits' settlements, as are the amiable qualities of his very excellent lady.

With the exception of the society at Government House, Singapore is a dull place for the navy. I had only the honour of a very slight acquaintance with the great body of the merchants, who appear to be exclusively occupied with their business,

though I will not omit to state that I have passed many agreeable hours in the house of Mr. Read, who, partial to the navy in general, is always ready to give them a hearty welcome: the attention of Dr. Oxley to those of our cloth is also well known, and, I venture to say, properly appreciated. 1846.

Nov. 30.—Her Majesty's ship Wolf arrived on the 25th, and brought me orders from the commander-in-chief to proceed, so soon as the weather and my other duties would permit, to the coast of Borneo, and, after making the necessary arrangements with the sultan or his ministers, to take possession of the island of Labuan, in the name and behalf of the queen. The following extract from Sir Thomas Cochrane's despatch will show the nature of these instructions:— Aug. 30.

"Your first proceeding will be, on your arrival off the Borneo river, to wait upon the sultan, and acquaint his highness that her Majesty the Queen is now desirous of availing herself of the treaty entered into in November, 1844; and that you have received instructions to carry her Majesty's wishes into effect.

"The judgment and discretion you have already evinced since my departure from the coast of Borneo persuade me that, in the relations that will hereafter take place between the squadron under your command and the sultan and his ministers, your own conduct (and you will take measures to secure the same on the part of the officers belong-

1846. ing to it) will be governed by the utmost circumspection, urbanity, and forbearance, that his highness's misconduct, and consequent humiliation, shall only be brought to his recollection through the contrast offered in the present tranquillity and increase of dignity he enjoys by his friendly relations with Great Britain.

"Having made your preliminary arrangements with his highness or his ministers, you will proceed to take formal possession of Labuan, with the usual ceremonies observed on such occasions; and, if you have the means of doing so at hand, you will erect, in a conspicuous place, a stone column, stating the day, month, year, and reign in which the possession was made. You will be careful not to incur any expense upon the island without authority to do so; but should you make any discoveries, either in its vegetable or mineral productions, the possibility of obtaining a sufficiency of good water, or any other of its capabilities not already known and reported on, you will communicate the same to me; and should the opportunity offer, you will make further examination into the very promising coal which Mr. Brooke and myself discovered on the mainland, in the vicinity of Moarra island.

"You will, in conformity with the instructions contained in Viscount Palmerston's letter, station at Labuan one of the sloops under your command, and the steam ship which will shortly be added to your force, assigning to them the duty of suppress-

ing piracy along the coast, from the Sarāwak to the north point of Borneo, and visiting yourself this part of the district under your immediate command, from time to time as circumstances may render necessary. 1846.

"As Mr. Brooke, Her Majesty's Political Agent in Borneo, has been intimately associated with all my proceedings connected with the island, you will communicate with him before visiting Brunè, and afford him the perusal of this dispatch; availing yourself of any views or suggestions which he may offer to you, as to the best mode of carrying out the foregoing instructions. His long residence in the country, and intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of its inhabitants give great value to his opinions, and of which I have frequently availed myself, with much advantage to the public service.

(Signed) "THOS. COCHRANE.

"To G. Rodney Mundy, Esq., Captain of H.M.S. Iris."

On examining the treaty of November, 1844, alluded to in this dispatch by Sir Thomas Cochrane, I observe that it states that, "The sultan is willing to cede to the Queen of England the island of Labuan and the adjacent islets, on such terms as may hereafter be arranged by any person duly appointed." A question naturally suggests itself — Will the sultan sign the necessary document unless he is offered some equivalent? The wording of the

1846. former paper certainly does not suppose an unconditional surrender of part of his territory. However, all former agreements have been annulled by the sultan's firing upon the British flag — and this I must fall back upon if the pangerans are hostile to the proposed arrangement.

The lucid despatch of Viscount Palmerston, commanding the occupation of this new station, was also forwarded to me for my guidance, and I was further directed to call off Sarāwak, and consult with Mr. Brooke as to the best mode of carrying out the foregoing instructions; and in the event of his considering that his own presence should be necessary at the capital, I was to receive him on board the Iris; but, if otherwise, that, as it was desirable Sir T. Cochrane should have a conference with him previous to giving up the command to Admiral Inglefield, I was to offer the rajah one of her Majesty's ships to convey him to Singapore.

These orders were every thing that I could desire, but as all the boats of the Wolf had been stoved, and she had received other damage from the bad weather outside, she required a few days to refit, and being now ready, we shall sail to-morrow.

Lieutenant-Colonel Butterworth has rendered us every assistance by furnishing me with ample supplies of tents, awnings, tools, and other requisites for clearing away the ground of a new colony; and the short treaty which I had drawn out for the approval of Mr. Brooke, has been beautifully executed in English and Malay, under the directions of

the Resident Councillor, the Hon. Mr. Church, who, jointly with the Governor, has taken an interest in forwarding the views of her Majesty's government, for which I feel particularly grateful. A large assortment of plants, flowers, and seeds has also been procured through the kindness of Mrs. Church for the new settlement, the whole of which were placed under the care of Captain Gordon, who undertook the charge of the horticultural department. 1846.

CHAP. X.

RETURN TO SARĀWAK. — ADVICE OF MR. BROOKE. — IMPROVEMENTS THERE. — DESTRUCTION OF THE "BEAUTY." — NARROW ESCAPE OF THE JOLLY BACHELOR. — SAIL FOR THE RIVER BRUNÈ. — PROSPECTS OF LABUAN. — ANCHOR IN THE BRUNÈ RIVER. — ORDERS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. — AUDIENCE WITH THE SULTAN. — WARM DISCUSSIONS. — SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY FOR THE CESSION OF LABUAN. — PRESENT TO HIS HIGHNESS. — TERMINATION OF THE INTERVIEW. — ANCHOR AT LABUAN. — COMMENCEMENT OF LABOUR THERE. — PREPARATIONS FOR HOISTING THE BRITISH FLAG. — ARRIVAL OF PANGERAN MUMIN WITH THE BRUNÈ FLEET. — INSCRIPTION TO COMMEMORATE THE TAKING OF THE ISLAND. — CEREMONY OF HOISTING THE FLAG. — CAPTAIN MUNDY'S SPEECH. — ANIMATING SPECTACLE. — DÉJEÛNÉ TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND CHIEFS. — DETECTION OF A THIEF. — CHRISTMAS DAY AT LABUAN. — HARBOUR OF LABUAN. — CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

1846. Dec. 1. *December* 1.—THE Iris and Wolf sailed at daylight, and falling in with the Sapphire outside, we completed provisions. By this vessel I had also the satisfaction of hearing from the commander-in-chief that her Majesty's government had entirely approved of the operations of the squadron on the coast of Borneo, which intelligence was confirmed by a most welcome letter from my friend, Captain Hamilton, secretary of the Admiralty. I trust promotions will follow for the junior officers.

Dec. 7.—Sarāwak. After a most boisterous passage across, with thick and abominable weather, we

anchored in the outer roads yesterday, and the same evening I came up to Sarāwak in my galley, pulling *thirty-five* miles in five hours and a half. I found the rajah, as usual, at the head of his table, entertaining the native chiefs at his hospitable board, many of whom, forgetful of the Prophet and the Koran, allowed themselves to taste the fruit of the vine, as it passed cheerily before them. 1846.

Before we retired to rest, Mr. Brooke read the dispatches, and at once made up his mind to go to Singapore, being most anxious to say farewell to Sir Thomas Cochrane, who had so steadily assisted him in all his difficulties, and also to make the acquaintance of the rear-admiral shortly expected to relieve him.

Mr. Brooke entirely approved of the three short articles I had prepared, though he at once told me, that the pangerans would make an objection to ceding any territory, unless money were given, in exchange; but he bade me be resolute, and felt sure that the sultan's seal would then be appended to the document.

This forenoon I went over the new clearances, making on the other side of the river, directly opposite Brooke's house, and was surprised to find how much had been done during the last two months; a road had been cut for nearly a mile directly through the heart of the jungle, which is intended to curve round to join the fort, and the land on either side will be sold for town allotments; the ever-active Chinese had already several plots of

1846. ground under cultivation, supplying the increasing population with various kinds of vegetable productions.

Dec. 8. *Dec.* 8. — Mr. Brooke and myself embarked in my galley, after breakfast, and proceeded to the mouth of the river, where we met the cutter of the Iris waiting, and glad we were to find her, as, on getting out to sea, we discovered that breakers were stretching completely across the bar, and it was with difficulty, after a long pull, that we reached the Hazard, at anchor off Tangong Poe. The weather now set in so bad, that we were obliged to remain on board that vessel during the night, the Iris and the Wolf being at anchor some miles to the northward, the rain incessant, and heavy rollers setting in, which broke only half a mile in shore of us.

Dec. 9. *Dec.* 9. — After an anxious night, the weather moderated, and we found the gun-boat, the Jolly Bachelor (which Brooke having lent me, I had desired Captain Egerton to refit and prepare for service) all right in her berth. Both vessels then weighed, stood out to sea, and anchored near the others in the offing. It now blew strong from the northward, and a heavy sea was running directly on the shore. With difficulty I was able to get my galley from the Hazard to the Iris, and in hoisting her up she capsized, and was stove all to pieces, nothing remaining but the keel and a few of the upper streaks of the planking. Such was the end of Beauty, the winner of the Ladies' Cup at the

the first "Hong Kong Regatta," and the conqueror, also, at the subsequent regatta at Singapore, when she beat a Canton wherry, brought from thence expressly for racing. Beauty was built by Mr. Atkinson, at the Cove of Cork, was copper-fastened, and beautifully put together. 1846.

Whilst the demolition of my favourite boat was thus going forward, the Jolly Bachelor tripped her anchor, and drove rapidly towards the shore, upon which Captain Egerton got the Hazard smartly under weigh, and bearing down to her rescue, succeeded on throwing on board some hands with the boatswain, by which means the gun-boat was enabled to regain her anchorage off Tangong Poe, where she brought up for the night, and though her gun was thrown over-board attached to her cable to assist her in holding on, she had a narrow escape of being dashed to pieces in the surf, having driven a second time within a few hundred yards of the breakers.

Dec. 10.—At daylight, with a strong northerly wind, the Iris and Wolf got under weigh, and commenced beating to windward, bound to the river Brunè, whilst the Hazard, with Brooke on board, proceeded to Singapore to meet the commander-in-chief. I was surprised at the sea running on the coast, a regular Bay of Biscay swell. Just before sunset both ships tacked close off the entrance of the river Balowi, the Wolf having held her way with the Iris better than I expected. At ten P.M. we lost sight of her a few miles astern, and thick Dec. 10.

1846. rainy weather came on, the wind veering to the N. W., and making the dangerous point of Sirik a lee shore.

Dec. 11. *Dec.* 11.—At daylight observed the Wolf courses down to leeward. Wind strong from W. N. W. with rain and a heavy ground-swell, soundings from twenty to fifteen fathoms. Noon, lost sight of the Wolf. In the afternoon made and shortened sail, as necessary to frequent squalls. Carrying on to round cape Sirik, which we did at eight P. M. in twenty fathoms. Rate of sailing ten knots against heavy head sea.

Dec. 13. *Dec.* 13.—Yesterday and to-day we had strong winds, blowing from west to S. W.; then calms for a few hours, with thunder and lightning and heavy rain, and the usual swell from N. N. W. About dusk, being by the reckoning off Cape Barram, we anchored in thirteen fathoms.

Dec. 14. *Dec.* 14.—At three in the morning the wind shifted suddenly to N. E., blowing strong with heavy rain; weighed immediately, and, under double-reefed top-sails, worked off shore, soundings from ten to twelve fathoms. Daylight showed us the land stretching far to the eastward; at nine the weather cleared up, and suddenly we observed the summit of the great mountain of Kina Ballow towering above the clouds, its fantastic and rugged peaks clearly pencilled on the blue sky beyond, the distance from the ship at the time being upwards of 120 miles.

At noon we observed the island of Labuan. Ten

days from this date it will be British territory. I am proud to think that it will be my lot to hoist the British flag thereon, for who can predict the results which may arise from this insular possession, commanding, as it does, the whole north-west coast of Borneo, and if followed up, as probably it will shortly be, by the addition of the outwork of Balambangan, our influence will be firmly established in the Eastern Archipelago, and the Bugis trade between Singapore and the fertile island of Celebes, at present so little known, placed on a secure footing. During the afternoon the sea breeze from the westward blew fresh, and brought us to an anchor off the Moarra shoal at sunset, at which time we observed a large number of prahus running into the Borneo river. 1846.

Dec. 15. — Beautiful morning, and air fresh, thermometer 78°. No sign of the Wolf. In the afternoon we weighed, and with a fine sea breeze, ran into the river Brunè; lowest soundings, over the bar, four fathoms. Anchored at three P. M. in our old berth, within two hundred yards of the beach, in eight fathoms mud. Dec. 15.

Dec. 16. — At daylight, I sent the boats of the ship, armed, to the capital, in charge of Lieutenant Heath, to whom I gave written orders, directing him to translate them, sentence by sentence, to the prime minister. They gave a sketch of my instructions, but at the same time set forth the indignation which was felt by the English Government at the sultan having fired at the queen's flag, and Dec. 16.

1846. that it would greatly depend upon the conduct of his highness and the pangerans, in my interview relative to the cession of Labuan; whether or not, pacific relations would be renewed.

I thought it necessary to use this decisive language, as it was evident, from what Mr. Brooke had told me, that the sultan would expect a sum of money in exchange for the cession of Labuan; and as I was not authorised to entertain any proposition of this nature, but ordered "to take steps for obtaining formal possession of the island," I foresaw, that all kinds of difficulties would be made; and, forewarned by Mr. Brooke, believed the plan I adopted, of keeping up the prospect of another visit from the admiral, the English rajah, and the fleet, would be the best antidote against violent opposition from the ill disposed pangerans, and the piratical party in general.

In the evening, Lieutenant Heath returned, and reported that all had been progressing favourably at Brunè since my departure, and that Mumin was still prime minister. After translating my orders, Lieutenant Heath was summoned to the presence of the sultan, who declared his readiness to see me on the day I proposed, and that having full confidence and faith in me, he was prepared to sign the treaty when brought before him.

So far all appears favourable. For the wretched sovereign's words I need care little, and of the disposition of the pangerans I could learn less; but to find no objection made to the interview is some-

SIGNING THE TREATY FOR THE CESSION OF LABUAN

thing gained, and as I trust the Wolf will arrive in the course of to-morrow, we shall have an imposing flotilla and a respectable body of marines to overawe the turbulent princes. 1846.

Dec. 17. — The Wolf arrived in the afternoon, and all arrangements were made for the expedition to the capital to-morrow. Dec. 17.

Dec. 18. — At daylight I sent Lieutenant Little in charge of the boats of the Iris and Wolf, armed with twenty marines, to the capital, with orders to moor them in line of battle opposite the sultan's palace, and to await my arrival. Lieutenant Heath was to assist as interpreter, with the Malays brought from Singapore. At noon I arrived. Pangeran Mumin received me on the steps, and the sultan at the gateway of the audience hall, and after shaking hands, and the usual salutations, conducted me to a seat. The room was crowded with the pangerans, rajahs, and dependants generally well dressed, and all armed with the krise. I commenced business immediately by stating that I had brought a treaty for his highness's seal and signature sent by the British Government which I hoped he would approve of, and which I begged might be read aloud by my interpreter. This was done, and the following are the clauses, short and to the point: — Dec. 18.

1. "Peace, friendship, and good understanding shall subsist for ever between her Majesty the queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his highness the

1846. sultan of Borneo, and his respective heirs and successors.

2. "His highness the sultan hereby cedes in full sovereignty and property, to her Majesty the queen of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs and successors for ever, the island of Labuan and its dependencies, the islets adjacent.

3. "The government of her Majesty the queen of Great Britain and Ireland hereby engages, in consideration of the cession above specified, to use its best endeavours to suppress piracy, and to protect lawful commerce, and the sultan of Borneo, and his ministers, promise to afford every assistance to the British authorities.

"Done and concluded at Brunè the 18th day of December, 1846.

(Signed by)

"THE SULTAN OMAR ALI." "G. RODNEY MUNDY."

The first and second articles appeared to give satisfaction, but the third and last occasioned much demur, the assurance on my part of our assistance in "suppressing piracy and protecting lawful commerce" not being considered exactly an equivalent; a circumstance perhaps not much to be wondered at, seeing that the majority of the nobles around were, in their hearts, directly opposed to this very measure, and, instead of receiving it as a set-off against the cession of Labuan, would probably themselves have given much to

have been able to get rid of it. An animated discussion continued for nearly an hour, during which time I remained perfectly quiet and silent. 1846.

The interpreter at length said, "The nobles want money in exchange for the cession of territory."

"I have no instructions to entertain such a proposition," was my reply.

The sultan, then turning to me, said, "This day is Friday, a day kept holy to the Prophet; I cannot sign any paper upon it."

I remarked, "That no objection had been made to Lieut. Heath when I first proposed the Friday;" and I was again silent.

The sultan then observed, "That the former treaty was not similar, and that he required money in return."

"When your highness fired at the British flag, you broke that treaty, and peace has not since been made. The admiral and Mr. Brooke expect you to sign this as a proof of the sincerity of your promises made when I was last at your capital."

I was beginning to be impatient, for the discussion amongst the nobles still continued, and promised to be interminable. At last I turned to the sultan, and exclaimed firmly, "Bobo chop, bobo chop!" followed up by a few other Malay words, the tenor of which was, that I recommended his majesty to put his seal forthwith.

His highness immediately arose, saying, "I promised, and I will perform;" and he then left the

1846. hall, accompanied by a few of the pangerans. Twenty minutes now elapsed, whilst we sat looking at each other, patterns of silence and patience. Observing no signs of his highness's return, I told prince Mumin that the tide had changed, and time pressed, and that I wished a messenger to be sent to the sultan. This was complied with, and shortly afterwards his highness reappeared, bearing himself the royal signet, of which he seemed extremely proud, and which was really a creditable production for native workmanship. With him came a host of followers, carrying wax tapers and hammers, and Chinese paper, when the great seal being held over the candle and blackened, the impression was stamped beneath the Malay interpretation of the treaty, my seal and signature being appended to the original English. The pangerans Suleiman, Hassim, Tuzzudeen, Kahar, Sora, and Illudeen were all present. These were the chiefs who, under the influence of Hajji Saman, principally instigated the sultan to give his consent to the atrocious act ordering the murder of Budrudeen and Muda Hassim, and who were also prominent in their hostility to the English, and to European connection or commerce. Looks of defiance were yet marked in their countenances, but the boats in line of battle in front of the palace, and the marines with fixed bayonets on the threshhold of the audience hall, though a picturesque group, was by no means calculated to encourage any act of violence. I marked them well, and

fixed each of them steadily in the face; and I do them the justice to say, they met my look with a cool and haughty gaze. With this continued disposition to oppose us, I could not help thinking what would have been the fate of Captain Egerton or Sir Edward Belcher, had they incautiously proceeded in their gigs to Brunè just after the massacre, and before the admiral had drawn their teeth. 1846.

It was evident their hatred would be unchangeable; but our flag once hoisted within forty miles of the capital, will their despotic and cruel policy still be able to trample upon the growing civilisation of a people, who, from the productions of the soil, and from their position, must be anxious for an extensive commerce? I cannot conceive that it will; the nakodas, the merchants, and the *masses* generally, gave unequivocal signs of being on our side. They hailed the fact of the cession of Labuan to the English as the dawn of a better day, and our boats were received with joyful acclamations, hundreds of canoes flocking around, with provisions and articles of curiosity.

When I rose to take leave, the sultan requested five minutes' private interview, when he asked me confidentially whether the queen would interfere with his government on the mainland; and he added, that he had a perfect reliance on me, as I had always performed my promises.

I told him, "that we should not interfere with his government, but that our ships would pro-

1846. tect the coast from the Illanun pirates, and so render the navigation secure for the smallest boats; and I proposed, in my next visit to the Borneo river, that his highness should pay me a state visit, when I would receive him with royal honours, and thus prove to his enemies, as well as to his own people and subjects, that he was in alliance with the great English nation."

During the whole of this interview, which at first looked very threatening, Lieutenant Heath afforded me great assistance, and especially at the crisis, when my patience had quite evaporated.

The sultan appeared gratified with this proposal, and, pointing to the river-side, showed me a large and gaudy prahu, which, he said, he had just built as a State barge, and in which he would row down the river, and visit the Iris. He added, "that, if I particularly wished it, he would come over to Labuan, and be present at the ceremony of hoisting the English flag, but that he was always sea-sick, and hoped I would excuse him." I replied, "that, unfortunately, the steam-vessel under my command had been wrecked on her passage to Borneo; otherwise I should have been delighted to have placed her at the disposal of his highness, but could not hear of his crossing the open sea in a river-barge;" and so we parted.

I presented his highness with a handsome new telescope, silver-mounted, and, bidding adieu to the princes and nobles, stepped into my gig, the battery saluting with fifteen guns, and the drums

and cymbals beating lustily. At five I got on board the Iris, when I was joined by Captain Gordon, who, with nearly all his officers sick on board, had felt himself so fatigued by the extra-work of navigating the ship, as to be unable to accompany me to the capital. 1846.

The result of this day's labour has been most satisfactory. After the opinion of Mr. Brooke relative to money being expected in exchange for the island of Labuan, I had always a doubt as to the sultan's acceding to any arrangement, and, though my determination was fixed to take possession of the island, without the permission of the monarch, on the ground of *peace* not having been yet concluded, still I was most anxious that the treaty should be signed, and that all should be arranged in an amicable manner. This has now been accomplished, and the government and people at the capital thoroughly understand that the English, in possessing themselves of Labuan, do so with the view of protecting legal commerce, and uprooting piracy in all its branches. I have invited "all hands" to come over, if they choose, to witness our proceedings on Thursday next, the 24th instant, and I sincerely hope that Prince Mumin and others may voluntarily attend. I believe they will do so, and that they now have confidence in me, and rely upon my word. Henceforth I shall in nowise interfere with them politically, unless called on by the sultan to protect him from pirates, and it will be for the admiral or Mr. Brooke to settle the

1846. differences which are sure to arise relative to domestic slaves, runaway offenders, and trading disputes. I conceive that I have now accomplished all that could be expected from the tenour of the admiral's instructions. The sultan, though a weak and illiterate man, is evidently highly respected by all classes of his subjects. They consider him as above censure, and look upon him as possessor of the throne by divine right.

It appears, from Mr. Hunt's description of Borneo Proper, written in 1812, that the ancestors of the reigning sultan ascended the Musnud in the thirteenth century, since which twenty-nine princes have sat on the throne. The Mohamedan religion was adopted a century later. Mr. Hunt adds, that, when the Portuguese visited Brunè in 1520, the number of Chinese settled there was immense; the capital contained 5000 houses, was rich and populous, and the king and court exhibited great splendour and magnificence. In 1812 there were only 5000 Chinese throughout the kingdom; since which they have gradually diminished, and during the last twenty years not one has ventured to set foot upon the soil.

Dec. 19. *Dec.* 19.—Got under weigh in the morning, and crossed over to Labuan. Anchored in Victoria Harbour at ten A.M., in seven fathoms, two cables' length from the beach, making a running moor. I landed immediately with Lieut. Heath, fixed on the spot for the flag-staff and tents, and afterwards walked round to the inner harbour, where we found

several trading prahus, which reported that they had come in from Benoni, and that they were beginning to navigate the coast with more confidence since our operations in July and August. 1846.

I was pleased at the first view of the place. The flat ground clear of jungle is (at a guess) two miles in circuit, and of an oval form, the long axis parallel to the beach. This was covered with long coarse grass, and swampy in many places, and the soil sandy. But I shall not attempt description till after a closer examination.

In the afternoon we commenced our labours. The working-party, under Lieut. Heath, assisted by Mr. Jossling, landed; the tents were pitched, the clearings were begun, the flag-staff beached, and wells dug. Good water was found three or four feet deep. I called this point of the harbour, Point Pasley, and the opposite point, Point Hamilton, after my oldest and most intimate friends, both fellow-collegians — old messmates, and captains of the navy, and the latter the second secretary of the Admiralty. Whether these names will be retained after my departure is doubtful; but finding there was no native name to either extreme of the harbour, I thought myself at any rate justified in giving them, whilst my work was going forward. In the evening, the Amelia, English merchant brig, arrived from Singapore with a mixed cargo for the Brunè market.

Dec. 21. — The Wolf arrived from the river Dec. 21.

1846. Borneo. Gordon and myself occupied all day on shore, superintending the working parties, and exploring. Ordered Mr. Airey (master) to examine for water, and Mr. Hooper to buoy the rock in the centre of the harbour. Lieutenant Forbes left in the pinnace for Brunè to procure bullocks and vegetables.

Dec. 22. *Dec.* 22. — The flagstaff was completed this morning, and stepped in the afternoon at the distance of twenty yards from the shore. The field pieces and boat guns were also landed and placed in battery. Towards evening a few large prahus came in laden with provisions.

Dec. 23. *Dec.* 23. — At daylight we observed several armed prahus standing into the harbour, which, on arrival, anchored in shore. I received a message from Prince Mumin, to say that he had arrived from Brunè for the purpose of witnessing the ceremony, and that he should be happy to pay me a visit on board the Iris.

At thirty minutes past nine the prince, with six other pangerans, nakodahs, orang-kayas, datus, and about eighty followers, came on board. I saluted the prime minister with thirteen guns, and received the party in my cabin, where they remained about two hours, and conducted themselves with great propriety. On taking his departure, the minister presented me with his kris, which he took from his girdle, a handsome weapon with an ivory handle.

Dec. 24. — Early in the morning a large granite slab, bearing the following inscription, was erected on the rising ground close to the flag-staff: — 1846.

THIS ISLAND
WAS TAKEN POSSESSION OF,
ON DECEMBER 24TH, 1846,
IN THE NAME OF HER MAJESTY
VICTORIA,
QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
HIS EXCELLENCY REAR-ADMIRAL
SIR THOMAS COCHRANE, C.B.,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
BY
CAPTAIN G. R. MUNDY,
COMMANDING
H. M. S. IRIS.

At eight, top-gallant yards were crossed, and the ships dressed; at noon the numerous prahus, with the large boat of pangeran Mumin at their head, got under oars, and shifted their berth close in shore. The sun was piercingly hot, but the weather beautiful for the ceremony. The marines, forty strong, and seamen, small-arm men, one hundred and forty landed and took up their position. I sent a message to the prince to request him to leave his prahu at the same time that I left the ship, and to intimate that I would meet him at the landing-place. At two I landed with Commander Gordon, and received the prince and the nobles

1846. on the beach, and then led Mumin through the file of marines to the elevated platform erected close to the flag-staff. Here our respective umbrellas were fixed, his being of orange damask, with long pendant fringes, mine of crimson silk (originally intended as a present to the king of Congo, but not delivered in consequence of that sable potentate having, on my official visit to him in January, 1843, informed me that he purposed to continue the slave trade, and to break his engagements with England.) The officers of the Iris and Wolf, *en grande tenue*, were drawn up at the flag-staff. I then mounted the rostrum, leading Mumin, and accompanied by Lieutenant Heath, who was to translate my speech into the Malay language. The other nobles and chiefs took their appointed stations on the gravelled platform below, and all the natives, and the crews of the prahus, amounting altogether to several hundred men, having been invited to draw near, the marines and small arm men facing about, I delivered, as far as I can recollect the following brief oration:—

"I make known to all present, that this day I take possession of the island of Labuan, and of the small islands around, in the name of her Majesty the queen of England.

"We now therefore stand on British territory.

"The quiet and good people of every nation will be protected in their lawful commerce by the English men-of-war, and pirates, both by sea and land, will be utterly destroyed, and their towns burnt to

the ground. The queen of England and the sultan of Borneo are henceforth friends. The English admiral will therefore destroy all piratical vessels that make war against the sultan, or that molest the coast." 1846.

This speech was audibly repeated by Lieutenant Heath in the native tongue, and apparently gave great satisfaction, and that officer deserves much credit for the clever manner in which he acquitted himself of a somewhat nervous undertaking.

I now directed Mr. Henry Morgan (midshipman) to hoist the Union Jack; and the British ensigns, red, white, and blue, were run up at the same moment at the tents, whilst the ships and batteries fired a royal salute, and the marines and seamen kept up a roll of musquetry. At the conclusion, three hearty cheers were given for "Old England" and her Majesty, which was responded to by the remainder of the crews on board the ships manning the rigging. It was a most animating and exhilarating spectacle, and one calculated to impress on the minds of the natives the remembrance of the day when Labuan ceased to belong to the sovereign of Borneo. The ships, being anchored only a few cables' length from the shore, added much to the effect of the proceeding. Brevity is the life of this sort of ceremonies, and the whole affair was over in ten minutes.

The marines having been drawn up between the flag-staff and the dinner tent, Prince Mumin now accepted my invitation to partake of the dé-

1846. jeûné which had been prepared as *sumptuously* as our limited means would allow. As the rustic table would not accommodate more than forty, I was under some uneasiness as to keeping out the lower grade of gentlemen. However, I begged the prince to invite those nobles and chiefs who had sufficient rank to sit at table with himself according to their own etiquette, explaining to him, that I was most desirous of acting exactly as he wished, and that I was myself, of course, ignorant of the shades of distinction amongst so large an assembly, especially as there was no difference of dress to guide my judgment.

Now, in this civil speech I had a double motive. The first was evident, but all the cunning of the Malay and of the minister did not detect the *diplomatic* bearing of this seemingly most natural request. The fact was this — in casting my eye over the mass of friends and followers of prince Mumin, I recognised the persons of the two individuals who had come down from the capital, at the desire of the sultan, to wait upon the commander-in-chief, as formerly related, when the fleet, in July last, anchored in the river Borneo. They stated themselves, at that time, to be pangerans, or nobles high in authority, and bore the orange-coloured silk umbrella, and the royal flag in their barge. The admiral, at first, received them well, but Mr. Brooke, after a short conversation, suspected that they were impostors, and whilst I was with Sir Thomas Cochrane, told him they were

mean men, and that sending them down as persons of rank was a downright insult. They were, consequently, detained on board till the following morning, when they were informed, that their deceit was discovered, and allowed to depart. They still, however, persisted in declaring themselves to be people of rank, and no positive proof to the contrary had been obtained during the subsequent visits to the capital. 1846.

When Mumin and I had placed ourselves at the head of the table, in conformity with my proposition, he called the pangerans and nobles by name, to take a seat; upon which they came out from the crowd and ranged themselves around. They were only seven or eight in number, and after the officers had seated themselves, I remarked to the minister, that several places were still vacant; and begged him to call in more of his friends. He looked around, and turning to me said, "I have invited *all* that are accustomed to sit at meat with men of rank." I could not resist exclaiming, with an accent slightly sarcastic, the Malay word for *all*, "samoa." He repeated, "samoa," and we then sat down; the outsiders quietly arranged themselves on their haunches, contemplating the proceedings within the tent. The natives ate little beyond bread and potatoes, but they all played upon the beer handsomely, preferring it to champaign, few remaining faithful to the Prophet's beverage, — pure water.

Meanwhile, in the rear of pangeran Mumin,

1846. squatting amidst the tent ropes, I occasionally fixed my eye upon the two individuals, who, fallen from the high estate to which they had been temporarily raised in honour of Sir Thomas Cochrane, now literally partook of the crumbs which ever and anon were thrown to them by pangeran Mumin, and, lastly, on my begging the prince to accept of a box of Manilla cigars, and a jar of pickles, he handed them over to the care of these people. They were, in fact, on state occasions, upper servants, and in ordinary life, just above the middling classes.

Thus, had the discriminating eye of Mr. Brooke rightly detected the imposition and insult offered to the admiral, and I was, inwardly, not a little satisfied at the proof before me, and at the success of the trap laid for the subtle premier. Of course, I kept my secret entirely to myself, but on some future occasion, the knowledge of it may be brought to bear. At present, all was well, and went off well. My guests now departed, and the Borneo fleet moved into the roads. I strolled along the beach, with Gordon, till sunset, when down came all the flags together. I then returned on board, right glad to have rest for mind and body, for verily, this sort of duties, in such a climate, is not accomplished without fatigue.

I must here record the fact, of one of the native boatmen having been caught in the act of stealing an empty bottle from the tent, upon which, my coxswain threw him on the sand, where, he under-

went a species of holystoning. He had endeavoured to defend himself with his kris, but this was speedily thrown into the sea. On escaping from the white man's grasp, he rushed forward to make his complaint to prince Mumin, who was at the moment talking to me. I conclude that some of the other Borneans had witnessed the theft, for, after a few words, the prince ordered a bamboo staff to be given him, with which he belaboured the delinquent most severely across the shoulders, and then sent him to the boat. I said nothing, believing that summary justice was a capital thing in such a case, though, considering that only a few hours before I had informed the minister, "that we now stood on British territory," it might be deemed rather a strong assumption of power on his part. 1846.

Dec. 25. — Pangeran Mumin and the Bornean flotilla of thirty sail left the anchorage, and returned to Brunè. Dec. 25.

This being Christmas Day, according to annual custom, all the officers and young gentlemen dined with me: Captain Gordon also joined the party. Little did I imagine on the preceding Christmas Day that this year I should spend the festive season on an insular possession of our queen of the age of only twenty-four hours.

Dec. 27. — About three in the morning a boat arrived from the brig Amelia, at anchor in the Borneo river, with the Chinese supercargo, who was severely wounded in the head with a blow from an axe by another Chinaman on board Dec. 27.

1846. the vessel. It appears that these Celestials had quarrelled on shore, and then fought, — a fine example to the fierce and lawless Borneans, amongst whom they had come in perilous times to open a peaceful and lawful commerce. The surgeon reported the wound to be deep, but not dangerous. I foresee much trouble with these gentry.

Dec. 31. *Dec.* 31.—We have had fine weather during the last week for clearing the flat, which I have called the "Esplanade." Our armourers, carpenters, rope-makers, coopers, — all busily employed. A pier has been commenced, and a guard-house. A row of pine trees, extending for a couple of hundred yards, affords shelter from the sun during the day, and fresh water is close at hand.

The whole of the esplanade is covered with long grass, and is generally swampy, with the exception of a strip, about forty yards in width, skirting the beach. This is somewhat elevated, is always dry, and on it our tents are pitched. Our ships complete water with great facility. Two large bread puncheons, sunk in the middle of the rivulet, with small holes bored in the sides, receive the water, and keep out the floating weeds and rubbish; but this stream, in the fine season, will probably be dry. No place can be better adapted for a re-fit than this harbour: there is five-fathoms' water at a cable's length from the beach, and the natives all declare that there is never any sea in the bay, and no record of a gale.

Thus has terminated the year 1846, — a year of

stirring incidents, and one of exceeding interest to me and my companions. For myself I have much to be thankful for, but especially for the inestimable blessing of health which has accompanied me during the whole course of our operations by sea and land. Would that these feelings were unmixed with those of regret for the loss of many friends! 1846.

CHAP. XI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW YEAR.—DISCOVERY OF A SPRING. — ILLNESS OF CAPTAIN GORDON. — PROGRESS OF WORKS. — ISLAND OF MALANKASSAN. — DEATH OF CAPTAIN GORDON. — SELECTION OF A GRAVE. — THE FUNERAL. — SAIL FROM LABUAN. — ARRIVAL AT SINGAPORE. — EXTRACT FROM SIR THOMAS COCHRANE'S DISPATCHES RELATIVE TO SETTLERS IN LABUAN. — LETTER FROM MR. BROOKE. — COMMERCE OF THE STRAITS. — OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE TRADE WITH BORNEO AND CELEBES. — DEATH OF MR. AIREY. — FUNERAL. — ARRIVAL AT PINANG. — THE IRIS ORDERED HOME. — PREPARATIONS FOR DEPARTURE. — THE RETURN TO SPITHEAD DELAYED. — SURRENDER OF HAJJI SAMAN. — DECISION AS TO HIS FATE. — — NEWS OF REAR ADMIRAL INGLEFIELD. — ARRIVAL OF THE VERNON AND ACORN. — SOCIETY OF PINANG.

1847. Jan. 1. *January* 1. — THE new year commences with a lovely morning. Thermometer 76°, and a cool breeze from the land. Parties, as usual, exploring in every direction, and at a short distance round Point Hamilton we discovered a beautiful spring of fresh water, which, though small, the natives report to be never dry. Several wild boars came down this morning from the jungle, one of which was killed by Lieutenant Little. I dined with the gun-room officers, and met the young gentlemen of both berths.

Jan. 2. *Jan.* 2. — On visiting Captain Gordon to-day, I

found him in very low spirits. The surgeon informed me, that he has slight fever, and should be careful about exposing himself to the sun. 1847.

Jan. 4. — All progressing well with the works on shore, Lieutenant Heath, assisted by Lieutenant Forbes, Lieutenant Harvey, and Mr. Jossling, being indefatigable in their labours. I am, however, much grieved at the continued indisposition of Captain Gordon, and am sorry to find that there are several cases of fever and dysentery in the ships, arising from exposure. The necessary work is, however, now over, and we must hope for a change, the climate apparently being agreeable, and ten degrees cooler than India. During the fortnight we have passed in the harbour the weather has been beautiful. No rain during the day; occasionally heavy showers at night, and land and sea breezes regular. The former setting in from the southward, about eight, P.M., and the latter from the northward, about one, P.M. Towards mid-day calm. Mornings and evenings cool and agreeable. Sultry during day; heat varying from 79° to 84°. Jan. 4.

Jan. 5. — Doctor Whipple went on board the Wolf to see Captain Gordon, whom he reported much better; but, on my saying that I was going to visit him, he recommended his being kept quiet and undisturbed for another day; I trust, therefore, that the commander's spirit will rally. Jan. 5.

I left the ship in gig with the interpreter, and went over to the island of Malankassan. Found

1847. the west side surrounded by rocks, but a fine sandy beach, with a grassy plain, and large fir-trees, as at Labuan. I walked round to the bay at the back of the island, examining the jungle occasionally for water. There was plenty of marshy ground. Sun very hot, but a fine breeze, and after a steady tramp of three hours, I returned to the ship rather knocked up with my day's work. Fourteen bullocks had been brought over from Brunè for sale, all of which Mr. Simmonds purchased for twenty pieces of long cloth. Found the officers all enjoying themselves in the tents, which was the general lounge after evening quarters. Heard from Lieut. Harvey that his captain was better.

Jan. 6. *Jan.* 6.— At nine A.M. I was exceedingly shocked by Dr. Whipple's report, that Capt. Gordon was so decidedly worse this morning that he believed his death to be imminent. I ordered my boat to be manned to go on board the Wolf; but, before this was done, the officer of the watch reported that the colours were half-mast on board that vessel. On reaching the Wolf I found that my much esteemed brother officer had been dead a quarter-of-an-hour. How deeply I then regretted that, listening to the advice of my surgeon, I had postponed my intended visit the day before, can only be known to myself. I ascertained that he had made inquiries after me, and, I believe, had expressed a desire to see me, when he learnt that I had passed near the

ship. He had told Lieut. Harvey some days before, 1847.
that he should certainly invalid, as he knew the coast of Borneo would not agree with him; but he never imagined that he was then in a dangerous state, nor had any one in the ship the slightest suspicion of it. What a blow to his poor father! an only son! Never was there, I believe, an officer more respected and beloved than poor Gordon by all serving under him; and the suddenness of his death is one of those awful dispensations which may well cause all of us to be constantly on our guard; for in so uncertain a climate, and with the services involved in it, who can say that his life may not next be required of him.

I had only known Captain Gordon from the date of his joining me at Singapore two months ago, and from the active duties we had been employed in, I had not seen much of him until the 24th December, on which day the flag was hoisted at the island. He then dined with me, as did all the officers of both ships, under the tent, with the native princes, and during the evening we strolled out, and taking a position on the sea shore, we conversed until a late hour of England and of home. He also dined with me the next day (Christmas Day) to meet all my officers, and was in good spirits. On the following day he dined with me alone, when he was not so cheerful, and on the 28th I dined with him on board the Wolf, on deck, when he appeared perfectly well. It was

1847. several days afterwards, that the surgeon declared his complaint to be fever. Upon hearing this I offered to take him in the Iris to Singapore, whither I should be going a fortnight hence, but as he hoped to rally in a day or two he seemed to think such a step would not be necessary.

I have seen much of death and suffering in my career through life, but I know not when I felt so suddenly and thoroughly shocked as on this occasion. There was something so melancholy, so entirely unexpected in the circumstances of his death that I could scarcely believe it to be a fact, and being on this desolate spot added to the feeling; but it was incumbent upon me to bear up. I had to arrange the funeral, which it was necessary should take place in the evening, and to fix upon the spot for the grave, for which purpose I landed immediately, and soon selected a secluded nook in the centre of a fine group of lofty trees, with a running stream winding beneath them.

At five P. M. the funeral party landed, and the remains of my brother officer were consigned to the grave, myself performing the burial service. The whole scene was most melancholy and imposing, and it was gratifying to me to observe the respectful demeanour, and deep attention paid by the ships' companies of the Iris and Wolf during the sad, but beautiful service. Many of the officers and seamen of the sloop, the shipmates of the deceased, were affected to tears, and appeared deeply

To face page ~~316~~ 316. Vol. II.

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TOMB OF CAPTAIN GORDON, AT LABUAN.

impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. At sunset the funeral party slowly wound their way back to the boats, and returned to the ships. I remained till dark over the grave with the officers of the Wolf, who had prepared some small shrubs to plant around the spot now sacred to them, for they all had loved and respected their commander, and their grief was sincere. 1847.

Jan. 7.—I sent away Lieutenant Heath to Brunè, with orders to see the master of the Amelia, at anchor off the town, and ascertain whether the authorities were treating himself and the Chinese supercargoes properly. Jan. 7.

Jan. 8.—Lieutenant Heath returned from Brunè, and reported that the master of the English brig, and the rest of the people on board, were satisfied with their treatment, that the sale of the cargo was going on regularly, and that a profit of a hundred per cent. was anticipated. In short, as every thing appeared so pacific, and the heavy work at Labuan was completed, I deemed the time arrived for leaving the sloop of war on this coast, according to the admiral's instructions, and for proceeding myself to visit other parts of the station. Jan. 8.

In the vacancy open by the lamented decease of Captain Gordon, I have appointed Lieutenant Heath as acting in command of the Wolf, giving Mr. Jossling an acting order as lieutenant. I regretted placing a junior officer over Lieutenant Heard, who was an old and excellent officer, but as Lieutenant

1847. Heath had been so intimately acquainted with the intricacies of Borneo politics, knew the language, and was much liked by the sultan, the pangerans, and natives generally, on the grounds of public service, I shall leave him in charge of the new settlement during my absence.

Jan. 12. *Jan.* 12. — Sailed from Labuan for Singapore, leaving acting commander Heath in charge of the station. Received a communication from the master of the merchant brig at Brunè, that he had completed his return cargo, consisting of gold dust, camphor, bees' wax, and pepper. In the afternoon, whilst working up along the coast, shoaled suddenly from no bottom to nine fathoms, and went about in seven. In the evening, passed over the space on which, according to the old chart of Horsburg, are situated the islands called the five Canuodes. A squally night with rain.

Jan. 13. *Jan.* 13. — Beating along the coast. Discovered another shoal with six fathoms fourteen miles off shore — no bottom at forty fathoms a few hundred yards from it.

Jan. 15. *Jan.* 15.—We have now got fairly into the strength of the north-east monsoon, and with all sail are leaving the Borneo coast rapidly behind us. At noon we passed about twelve miles to the southward of the patch of dry sand in the vicinity of the Luconia shoal, and are once again delivered from the navigation of unknown seas. I regret to say that Mr. Airey, the master, is very unwell, having

caught the low fever which had latterly increased in both ships; the cases generally were slight, and, no doubt, arose from exposure to the sun and work on shore, as from former reports we have no reason to believe that the neighbourhood of Labuan is itself unhealthy. 1847.

Jan. 19. — Singapore. We run into the roads last night, pitchy dark, and anchored in three and a half fathoms, with three fathoms at low water, keel just clear of the mud. Daylight showed us that we were in the midst of the shipping, in a good inshore berth. Jan. 19.

I found an official letter awaiting me here, from the commander-in-chief, approving of the three articles of the treaty which I had framed for the sultan's consideration, relative to the cession of Labuan, and further acquainting me, that I had acted right in not allowing any one to settle on the island until the wishes and views of her Majesty's government were distinctly ascertained.

The paragraphs of this dispatch of the commander-in-chief relating to this subject appear to me to be so conclusive, and so valuable as a reference, that I copy them into my daily Journal. How much it is to be regretted, that similar instructions had not been in force when Hong Kong became a British colony, where, from the numerous claims of the first squatters upon that island, who had erected buildings or acquired a title to the ground, anything like uniformity in the construction of the town was impossible, and instead of having

1847. an open space or quay, as at Singapore, for the public, facing the water, the houses are constructed on the very edge of the sea, and the view of the harbour completely shut out. Sir Thomas Cochrane, after expressing the approval to which I have already alluded, goes on to say: —

"You have very properly intimated to those persons who have expressed a desire to settle in Labuan, that they cannot be permitted to do so, and you will most rigidly enforce the prohibition; and should any parties, in defiance of it, fix themselves on the island, during the absence of the ships of war, you will have no hesitation in pulling down their erections, and expelling them by force from the island. Any such overtures as are frequently made on the contemplation of new settlements, namely, that they will only erect temporary buildings, to be removed at the pleasure of government; that they will require no protection, &c., you will steadily resist; one grant leads to another; the parties improve, and make more permanent their dwellings in spite of all warnings, and at last, the force of numbers gives them a species of claim to what was at first denied, and frequently, most seriously embarrass the intentions and arrangements of government."

With those instructions I also received an order to join the flag at Pinang, and heard that Mr. Brooke was with Sir Thomas Cochrane, on board the Agincourt, waiting the arrival of rear admiral Inglefield, in the Vernon.

I was glad to hear that the first lieutenant of the Iris, Lieutenant Little, was promoted, and also Lieutenants Patey and Paynter of the Agincourt, for their services in Borneo; all zealous and efficient young officers. 1847.

I find that some of the adverse party at Brunè have written to their native friends here giving a very distorted and untrue account of the proceedings of the fleet, and of the attack and capture of the capital, and asserting that the measures of Sir Thomas Cochrane were severe and uncalled for. These accounts having reached Mr. Brooke at Sarāwak, he thought it advisable to give me notice of it, with the view of my contradicting any false statements as opportunity occurred. For this purpose he wrote me a letter, which I found awaiting my arrival here, and as it briefly relates what occurred between the admiral, himself, and the sultan, of which I was myself not in a position to know at the time, I will here insert it:—

"Sarāwak, December 1846.

"MY DEAR MUNDY,

"I am sorry to find that so many false statements and distorted facts of the proceedings of the squadron on the coast of Borneo, and of the part which I took with regard to the sultan's letter and message to the admiral, are in circulation at Singapore.

"I can give you a few details which you may not have known before, so that should any one

1847. whose opinion is worth any thing make inquiries, you may be able to answer them. In the first place, it was after the admiral had been three days off the Borneo river, that in the evening, a boat, dispatched by the sultan, arrived alongside the Agincourt, bearing a letter and a verbal message to the purport, that if his excellency wished to see the sultan, he must proceed up the river with one or two small boats only.

"The mode of conveying the sultan's letter to the admiral by the hands of mean men and slaves, and the verbal message which accompanied it were direct insults, and moreover, strong suspicions were excited that one of the signatures to the letter was a forgery. These suspicions have since proved correct, as Muda Mohamed, the brother of the late Muda Hassim declares he was forced to append his seal under fear of death.

"On the first arrival of the squadron, an amicable message was sent to the sultan by the admiral, intimating his intention of visiting his highness; and the simple inquiry to be made was, whether the sultan adhered to his former engagements, to which Muda Hassim had been a party. Our interference was, therefore, not in consequence of the murder of the nobles, though, under the circumstance, this atrocious act would naturally come under discussion.

"The answer to this message was an unmeaning letter, sent in a manner which all men acquainted with native usage would consider a gross insult. The admiral proceeded up the river with about the

1847.

same force as when, on a former occasion, he had visited the sultan in a friendly way. It was open to the sultan to receive his excellency if he thought fit; but, instead of doing this, as you know, he opened fire on the flag of the British admiral the moment it came within reach of his guns. The fact of the determination of the sultan and the pangerans to act hostilely against the English is now beyond dispute. I have evidence before me from hundreds who heard the declarations in the streets of Brunè, and Muda Mohamed was frequently taunted publicly for being a Kafir and the friend of Europeans, and told that the English were afraid to come to the capital, and that if they did they should be defeated. The engagements between the sultan and the British government were strictly of a *national* character, for national objects alone, and the firm policy of Sir Thomas Cochrane was the only one that could have retrieved the past. Had his excellency not acted vigorously, the first shipwrecked crew seeking refuge at Brunè or its vicinity would have been murdered, and the labour of years been undone.

"I observe that I am considered a monopolist for retaining the antimony ore. This ore has long been a monopoly in the hands of the rulers of Sarāwak, and the revenue received from it is spent in improving the country. I certainly am desirous of holding Sarāwak on the best terms I can, and why not? The day I should leave it, the natives would resist the authority of the sultan, as most of

1847. the other rivers long have done; and if I wished to extend my possessions, I might easily do so, as I have been frequently offered, and as frequently have declined, the government of all the rivers between Tanjong Barram and Tanjong Datu, a coast-line three hundred miles in extent.

"With all the pecuniary advantages supposed to arise from my position here, I am at the present moment a poorer man than when I undertook my not easy task, though I do hope that at some future time it may become both advantageous and profitable.

"Believe me

"Very sincerely yours,

"J. BROOKE.

"G. Rodney Mundy."

At the close of last year, there seemed to be an idea amongst the mercantile body at Singapore, that the operations of the squadron on the coast of Borneo would have been detrimental to the trade of the straits, as it was imagined that the regular, native trading prahus, not exactly comprehending the object which the British admiral had in view, would take alarm at the display of force in those seas, and would discontinue that intercourse which had hitherto proved so advantageous. I was, therefore, glad to see, by the annual return, that the result was exactly the reverse, and that, since the first decisive blow dealt at Malludu, the native commerce had been rapidly increasing. The following is an extract from the official statement of the trade of Singapore, ending December, 1846: —

"Borneo. Considerable attention is at present directed to this branch of our trade; the prospect is a very gratifying one, the imports and exports exceeding those of any former years." 1847.

"Celebes. The importations have advanced nearly double those of the preceding year."

With reference to the above important statement, the public journals of Singapore remark that, "There is now every prospect of a regular and progressive trade with Borneo, as the trade has increased at a ratio most encouraging, and European fabrics have already, to a considerable extent, supplanted native productions."

Jan. 22.—Mr. Airey died this morning; he was an excellent master, and good man, and is a loss to the ship in every way. The surgeon reports that he has fallen a victim to the climate of Labuan, and to his exposure there in exploring for coals and water. This is possible, but I know that my poor shipmate frequently was very indifferent about taking proper precautions, such as changing clothes when wet, standing in the sun unnecessarily, &c.; and therefore I am not prepared to say, that the coast of Borneo is in itself unhealthy. In the afternoon the funeral took place, Mr. Moule, the chaplain and resident minister at Singapore, officiating. The body was deposited in the picturesque burial ground, on the gentle slope beyond Government Hill, all the officers and myself attending. Jan. 22.

Jan. 28.—Pinang. We arrived here this af- Jan. 28.

1847. ternoon, and found in the harbour—the Agincourt, Dædalus, Columbine, and Nemesis.

The commander-in-chief was living on the hill—Bel Retiro—a delightful spot, two thousand feet above the level of the sea, and commanding one of the most beautiful prospects in the world.

As soon as our number was made out, the admiral telegraphed "Shall be happy to see you on the hill, and bring blankets." The very idea of a temperature embracing the necessity of a blanket, was delightful, and as soon as possible after anchoring I was on shore, and, mounting one of the celebrated poneys of this lovely island, galloped over the four miles of level ground, and commenced the ascent of the mountain. Arrived at Government-House I found Sir Thomas Cochrane and Mr. Brooke in the garden, botanizing, and now learnt with great regret that orders had been received by the last mail to "send her Majesty's ship Iris immediately to Spithead."

The prospect of returning home is usually agreeable, and the intelligence was, doubtless, received by the majority of all on board with the greatest delight; but for myself I had become so interested in the affairs of Borneo, and had looked forward with so much pleasure to re-conveying Mr. Brooke to Sarāwak and to revisiting Labuan, that the news was the most unwelcome that could possibly have reached me. I found Captain M'Quhae of the Dædalus on a visit to the admiral, and with Mr. Waller, the most amiable and obliging of secre-

taries, we formed a society quite congenial to my own taste and feelings. 1847.

Jan. 29. — I accompanied the admiral to the Agincourt this morning, and immediately he got on board he made the general signal, "Shift topsail yards, bend sails and cross top-gallant yards," a manœuvre which occupied thirty-three minutes. In the evening I returned again to the hill. Jan. 29.

Feb. 1. — To-day I received orders to consider myself no longer in command of the squadron on the coast of Borneo, and to prepare for sea with all dispatch. I, therefore, returned to the ship, having passed three days, very agreeably, at Bel Retiro, where the thermometer stood at 68°, being nearly a difference of ten degrees to that on the plain below. Feb. 1.

Feb. 6. — I reported the ship ready for sea, and expected my orders to proceed immediately to Spithead, when I received a communication from the admiral to the effect, that, in consequence of several courts-martial which it would be necessary to hold, on the proper number of vessels being collected, he should, probably, be obliged to detain me till the arrival of his successor, Rear Admiral Inglefield, now daily expected, intelligence having been received of the Vernon's departure from the Cape of Good Hope. This is a reprieve, and I now entertain a distant hope of something turning up, which may render necessary a further detention. Feb. 6.

I am endeavouring to effect an exchange with Captain M'Quhae of the Dædalus, and have

1847. pointed out to my worthy brother officer, that as a married man, with a rising family, it would be injudicious to risk his health by further exposure to the treacherous climate of the eastern seas, whilst being myself unblest with ties of that tender nature, I felt better prepared to encounter the chances of our precarious service. Though I believe my reasoning to be good, I fully expect the gallant captain will stick to his own ship.

Feb. 9. *Feb.* 9. — Commander Charles Grey of the Columbine, having been appointed to take charge of Labuan, and to relieve the Wolf, I gave him a copy of my charts and latest surveys of the coast of Borneo.

Feb. 12. *Feb.* 12. — Lieutenant Vansittart was promoted to the rank of commander, in Captain Gordon's vacancy. All hopes of effecting an exchange with captain M'Quhae have vanished.

Feb. 17. *Feb.* 17. — The Columbine sailed for Labuan to relieve the Wolf. Commander Grey appears a zealous and active young officer, and is delighted at the prospect of visiting the colony, and of taking a part in this new theatre in the eastern world.

Information was received a few days ago, of the surrender of the famous chief Hajji Saman, who it will be remembered was driven into the mountains from his position in the Mambākut river. The sultan, in announcing this intelligence to the admiral, expresses his intention of keeping him in the city till he receives instructions for his disposal, either by his excellency or Mr. Brooke.

1847.

After mature deliberation, the commander-in-chief decided that, although this chief had been the great promoter and leading person in the lamentable atrocities that were perpetrated last year, and was the most active in his hostilities against the squadron, still, the period which had since elapsed, and the increasing confidence and restoration of order that had taken place, materially altered the case, and no longer rendered his execution necessary as an example, and captain Grey was, therefore, desired to wait upon the sultan, and make him distinctly understand, that so far as the British government was concerned, Hajji Saman, and all those who felt themselves compromised by late events, might be assured, that the past was buried in oblivion, and that the recollection of them could only be revived by misconduct for the future, and the sultan was further recommended by the admiral, to make, on his own part, an unequivocal declaration to the same effect.

Feb. 24.

Feb. 24. — At a quarter to four this afternoon, just as we were going on shore for a ride, the admiral telegraphed, "Furl awnings, shift topmasts and jibboom," the ships at that time having sails bent, and top-gallant yards across. At a quarter past six the top-gallant yards were across again. The Dædalus and Iris were full of mishaps. In the former, the bolts of the top tackle pennants drew and the fore topmast came down by the run, and went through the gunner's store-room. In the Iris, the hawsers and all the purchases carried away, and the

1847. main topmast shot down upon the quarter deck; fortunately, no injury to any of the officers or crew.

March 11. *March* 11. — At length we have news of the Vernon, with the flag of Rear Admiral Inglefield. She was seen in the straits of Banka, a week ago, with the Dido and Acorn.

March 17.. *March* 17. — The Dido, captain Maxwell, arrived to-day. The old ship once again at Pinang. She parted company with the Vernon a fortnight ago.

March 30. *March* 30. — The Vernon and Acorn arrived in the morning, and Rear-Admiral Inglefield immediately came up the hill, and joined our party. He was looking remarkably well, but reported very badly of the Vernon's sailing qualities.

April 5. *April* 5. — This morning I received my orders to proceed with all dispatch to Spithead, and I took leave of the commander-in-chief, and of Mr. Brooke. The latter has decided on visiting England a few months later, so I hope we may meet again in our own dear land. With my admiral I parted with sincere regret. During the last two months I had been constantly at Government House, enjoying his society and hospitality, and a very happy and merry party we were — with rides about the mountain in the afternoon, whist and chess in the evening, and excursions backwards and forwards to the ship, the time passed rapidly. Of the inhabitants, or rather European residents at Pinang, I am not able to say much, having been so little in the town; but the officers speak warmly of the kind hospitality and open house kept by the Hon. Mr. Garling, resident-

councillor, and Mr. Brown, of Gluger; and I myself enjoyed many agreeable evenings at the houses of Captain Ricards and Mr. M'Pherson, officers in command of the garrison and Fort. And whilst on the subject of leave-taking, I will here express how much I regret that I shall not have an opportunity of again visiting Hong Kong, where I received much kindness and hospitality from Major-General D'Aguilar, the lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces, and also from the resident merchants, including Matheson, Kerr, Dent, Rawson, and other gentlemen, whose houses were always open to the royal navy. 1847.

CHAP. XII.

REMARKS ON THE ISLAND OF LABUAN.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION. — SUPERFICIAL AREA. — CHARACTER OF THE GROUND. — SOIL. — WOODS AND JUNGLE. — THE CAMPHOR TREE. — RATTANS. — SUPPLY OF WATER. — VICTORIA HARBOUR. — DETACHED ISLETS. — COMPARISON OF SINGAPORE WITH LABUAN. — FUTURE TRADE. — POLICY WHICH SHOULD BE PURSUED. — COMMUNICATION WITH THE WILD TRIBES OF BORNEO. — KALLIAS RIVER. — PRODUCTIONS. — GUTTA PERCHA. — EXTENT OF THE SUPPLY. — CAMPHOR. — BEES'-WAX. — SUGAR-CANES. — COFFEE. — BETEL. — COCOA-NUTS. — LEECHES. — COAL. — ANALYSIS OF THE COAL. — LABUAN COAL SEAMS. — IMPORTS IN DEMAND AT BRUNEI. — NATIVE CURRENCY.

1847.

April 7. PINANG. The Wolf has arrived from Labuan, and Lieutenant Heath has rejoined the Iris; a day later and he would have missed his passage to England, and instead of going home first lieutenant of the frigate, have found himself supernumerary on board the Vernon. From him I have received a full account of all that has occurred on the coast of Borneo since my departure, and from his report joined to my own observations, I have been able to form some estimate of the general character of our new settlement, and having purposely abstained from recording my remarks on the island of Labuan till my opinion had been matured by a more

practical acquaintance with its capabilities, I will now give a short account of its present state and condition, and of the advantages it presents as regards its locality to the great producing districts of Borneo, and of its position as a naval station from which we may act vigorously against the pirate communities. It was during Mr. Brooke's visit to Brunè, in November, 1844, that Labuan was first offered to the British Government by the Sultan of Borneo, and in June, 1846, the Earl of Aberdeen, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, after satisfying himself of the value of the position, acquainted Mr. Brooke, that her Majesty's Government proposed to adopt early steps for the occupation of the island, and for the establishment of a naval station. 1847.

The change of Government, however, took place about this period, when Viscount Palmerston immediately transmitted instructions to Sir Thomas Cochrane to take possession of Labuan, in the name of the Queen.

The island of Labuan extends from latitude 5° 11′ N. to latitude 5° 25′ N., and from longitude 115° 10′ E. to 115° 22′ E., running in a N. N. E. direction. It is about eleven miles in length, and at its southern extreme has a breadth of five and a half to six miles, from which, taking it as the base of a triangle, it gradually narrows to a point at the north end.

It contains an area of forty square miles, with a coast line probably of thirty miles.

1847. The surface of the ground is everywhere undulatory, and the height of the highest hill about eighty feet.

The soil appears moderately good, generally a light yellow clay and sandstone, the whole space being covered with a jungle composed of a great variety of trees, some of the largest size, and of much value, especially the camphor tree and the rattan.

I had an opportunity of examining some of the finest of the camphor trees, and was surprised at the nobleness of their structure. They have a straight stem, which rises almost perpendicular to the height of a hundred feet, when branches jut out in every direction, covered with a thick and luxuriant foliage. The camphor is found in solid masses in different parts of the wood, and in order to obtain it, the trees are cut down, and the stem and branches split into several pieces, when the valuable gum is bit by bit extracted.

The rattans are also of the finest quality, and are in general use with the natives for cordage and the rigging of their prahus. Every sort of household furniture is made from this species of cane, from the enormous mats to the most delicate basket, and it is moreover exported in large quantities from such parts of Borneo as are under a steady government.

Of the young cocoa and betel nuts which I planted some months ago, I am not able to make a decisive report, sufficient time not having yet

elapsed to form a correct opinion. I am, however, conscious of having neglected to provide efficient fences to protect them from the wild hogs and deer, and believe they will not have fair play. The soil itself is everywhere adapted to the growth of all description of palms. Flowers of many species appear to grow luxuriantly in the jungle, and parasitic plants are so numerous, as to threaten the destruction of the larger trees by their treacherous embrace. 1847.

There had always been a doubt respecting the supply of fresh water on the island, and fears were entertained that during the dry season very little, if any, would be obtained, as it was well known that the rivulet which flowed through a portion of the cleared ground on Point Pasley, was the drainage of the swamps from the distant marshes in the jungle. I am able, however, to state, after a careful examination of every part of the island, that there are two streams which we have every reason to believe never fail throughout the year, the one being a large body of beautiful water, which falls in a cascade perpendicularly over a rock at the north point into the sea below, and underneath which a boat may ride and take in a supply; and the other is a small stream whose mouth is opposite the small rocky islet on the west side of the island. There is also a small spring round Point Hamilton, but this I believe is influenced by the seasons.

Whilst our ships were at anchor in Victoria Bay, from December to April, we received on an average

1847. twelve tons of water per diem from wells dug in the vicinity of the flag-staff. Some of this water has now been two months in the hold, and is as good as ever; but of course, from the manner of collecting it in pits dug a few feet below the surface of the sand, it cannot be so pure as the water of the springs on the more distant parts of the island.

The entrance of Victoria harbour is about fifteen miles from the entrance of the Brunè river, with good anchorage, three or four miles distant from either shore. The detached islet of Dāat is admirably adapted for a fortified position, as it completely commands the harbour channel.

A martello tower erected here would be the best sort of defence.

On Malankassan and Kuraman islets there are fine trees, and on the latter a permanent stream of good water.

The seas around abound in fish of various kind, and turtles are numerous.

Wild pigs and deer were occasionally met with; but we saw very few birds excepting pigeons, wild fowl, and birds of prey. Large bats, and flying squirrels were also seen in the dusk of the evening.

Labuan has never been regularly inhabited, and no attempt has been made to cultivate its soil. There is, however, every reason to believe that it is equal, if not superior to that of Singapore, and as these two insular possessions must, from their position, necessarily hold much commercial intercourse, and I trust from this circumstance be mu-

1847.

tually beneficial to each other, a few remarks on their relative merits may not be out of place.

The sudden growth of Singapore from a nest of pirates to a rich, mercantile emporium, has raised the supposition that the colony of Labuan will, with similar treatment, prove equally prosperous, and, moreover, that its prosperity will be equally sudden. A comparison of the circumstances attending the early days of Singapore with those of Labuan will, however, show that such is not likely to be the case, but that the growth of Labuan will be more gradual and less dazzling. Singapore owes its prosperity, as much to the ill-advised measures of the Dutch, as to the sagacity of Sir Stamford Raffles; it was the strong contrast between Dutch rapacity and English liberality, which told in its favour. Singapore was like a shop opened in a crowded thoroughfare, where there had been previously no shops, whilst Labuan may be compared to the same shop opened in the same thoroughfare, but, with the disadvantage of eager rivals in its neighbourhood. In former days, the Dutch loaded the native traders with heavy harbour dues and all sorts of exactions; but they have now in some measure thrown open their ports, and are endeavouring to rival us in liberal offers to native traders, at least the journals of Batavia announce that Makassar will henceforth be a free port; but even if the Dutch are sincere in this intention, the new regulations will probably be fettered by some additional clauses which will

1847. neutralize the advantages which might otherwise arise to the commerce of Singapore.

The trade of Labuan will, for the present, be confined to an exchange of commodities with the Malays of the sea-coast, and the aboriginal tribes in immediate connection with them: there will also be a small trade with China, in what are technically called straits' produce; but the greater part of the junk trade will probably continue to frequent Singapore, on account of the certain profit attending the carrying of Chinese emigrants to the Straits of Malacca. No doubt, when the Bornean Government, influenced by our neighbourhood, becomes more settled, its territory will be a favourite field for Chinese emigration, and this branch of trade will then proportionally increase; but I think we may safely affirm that the junk trade, as a trade, is now falling off, and will eventually be succeeded by a trade in European vessels.

The future prospect of Labuan trade will depend much upon the success of attempts which should be made to open a communication with the wilder and more savage tribes inhabiting the interior, of whom the Malays themselves know but little, except that they are numerous. Well conducted boat expeditions up the various rivers would soon create confidence, the parent of successful trade. Nothing could exceed the good will shown by the natives of Kallias towards an exploring party under the direction of Lieutenant Heath, acting in command of the Wolf, which ascended that river in the month

of February. They insisted upon the boats' crews loading their boats with cocoa nuts, whilst presents of ducks and fowls, and honey, were poured in upon the officers. These were people who had never before seen a European. Much, however, will depend upon the conduct of those employed in these expeditions; first impressions are always the most lasting, and those who are the first to communicate with the new tribes of the interior, will, for a long time to come, be looked upon as the type of their countrymen; they cannot be therefore too careful to leave a good name behind them. 1847.

The inhabitants of Kallias are the nearest neighbours of Labuan, and we obtain a great portion of our supplies from them. The river is broader and deeper than the Sarāwak, with about two fathoms over the bar, the town being thirty-four miles from the entrance, and from thence the river continues under the name of Kapala Panyu or turtle's head, until it enters the sea west of Quallalama and Monti Bowan, thus making all the land forming the east side of the Labuan channel an island. There are two other towns on the banks, viz. Karukan and Garamak, the inhabitants being about seven or eight thousand. Pepper and rice are the staple commodities.

There is no doubt that the friendliness of those natives with whom we have as yet become acquainted is mainly attributable to the exploring visits which we made in the Phlegethon, and all

1847. who have known Mr. Brooke in this country will consider that his kind-heartedness and urbanity are the main springs of the extraordinary success which attends all his dealings with savages, and his example cannot be too closely followed by those whose duty it may become to conduct such expeditions.

The principal products of the north-west coast of Borneo are sago, pepper, rice, bees' wax, camphor, birds' nests, tortoiseshell, betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, coal, and other mineral and vegetable productions, such as gutta percha, vegetable wax, timber of first quality, oils, ebony wood, &c.; but when there shall be confidence given to the natives, and security to the European capitalist, this island will become the natural field for the growth of cotton, sugar, coffee, and other tropical productions, free labour being abundant and cheap (compared with the labour of slave states) both from China and India, the labourers coming and returning with their free will and without difficulty; at present, production is reduced to the lowest point from oppression and bad government, and the great object to be attained is the development of its resources.

Sago will probably be the principal article of export: it is grown in great quantities in various places on the marshy banks of rivers, and is a small shrub, averaging from twenty to thirty feet in height, having a rough bark covered with immense thorns which act as a protection against the

wild animals of the jungle. Like the elder-berry tree of England, it contains a soft pith in the centre of the trunk, and from this the sago is made. 1847.

I have seen quantities of it on board the native prahus which ply on the coast from Ambong to Brunè, stowed in bulk in the hold in rough globules about the size of a pea. The Borneans are great adepts at its manufacture, and its price in the Singapore market is very high.

In former days pepper was the staple commodity of Borneo, and fetched a large price at Singapore; but it has gradually dwindled away to a price so unremunerative to the grower, that its cultivation is fast being abandoned. Rice is the common food of the population at large, and is generally preferred to sago. Considerable quantities were found in store during our expedition into the interior, in pursuit of the sultan, and also in the Mambakut and other rivers; and the modern history of Sarāwak shows that Borneo, under good government, will probably become an exporter of that staff of Eastern life.

Gutta percha is a remarkable example of the rapidity with which a really useful invention becomes of importance to the English public. A year ago it was almost unknown, but now its peculiar properties are daily being made available in some new branch of the useful or ornamental arts. The history of its introduction should urge the new colonists of Labuan to push with energy

1847. their researches into the as yet almost untrodden path of Bornean botany.

Dr. Oxley, of Singapore, has furnished the most complete description which has yet been published of the tree, and the manner in which its gum is collected by the natives. He describes the tree as being sixty or seventy feet in height, and two or three feet in diameter at the base; it is most commonly found in alluvial tracts, at the foot of the hills. In order to obtain the gum, the trees, when full grown, are cut down, and circular incisions are made in the bark at distances of from twelve to eighteen inches; the sap which exudes is collected in cocoa-nut shells, or other basins, and is then boiled, in order to clear it of water, and to inspissate it. One tree will produce from six to twenty-five pounds weight of the gum. Its colour, when pure, is greyish-white; the reddish hue is occasioned by the pieces of bark which tumble into the boiling mixture; it is usually much adulterated, but can be easily purified by boiling it in water, and then rolling it flat, and picking out the impurities. Gutta percha is not affected by boiling alcohol, but is readily dissolved in boiling spirits of turpentine; also in naphtha, or coal tar. When immersed for a few minutes in water above 150° Fahrenheit, it becomes plastic, and may be moulded into any shape, which it will retain when cooled. This property has led Dr. Oxley to apply it with success, instead of splints and bandages, in the setting of broken limbs.

1847.

It is already extensively used in England for soles of boots and shoes, and for driving bands in machinery; it bids fair also to supersede all other materials in the manufacture of picture-frames, and other ornamental mouldings. The extent to which this gum may be obtained in the neighbourhood of Labuan is as yet unknown; but it is to be hoped that the extravagant manner of collecting it adopted in the Straits of Malacca may be avoided in the new settlement, and that the natives may be early taught the impolicy of wasting this valuable material in so improvident a manner.

The camphor of Borneo is of that sort called "barus;" it sells in Singapore at thirty-three dollars per catty for the Chinese market.

Bees' wax, birds' nests, and tortoise-shells, are plentiful; but as they vary much in quality, it is impossible to quote their market price; a further intercourse with the interior will probably greatly increase the quantity of bees' wax for exportation.

Sugar-cane is grown; but both its cultivation and its manufacture are rude and unscientific, though it is very probable that at a future day it will give large returns to the European capitalist.

Coffee is more rarely planted; the orang-kaya of Kimanis was, however, when the Iris left the station, about to commence its cultivation, with a view to the Labuan market.

Betel and cocoa-nuts are largely planted, and may be increased to any amount; cocoa-nut oil is even now made for exportation.

1847. It may, perhaps, be thought very speculative to consider the chances of leeches becoming an article of export; but they are so very plentiful, and so valuable a remedy in the diseases peculiar to those climates, that an improved state of the medicinal art in these countries might cause a demand for them in China, and in these days of inter-communication, some good market will surely be found for so useful an article, which may be got for nothing; they abound most in the country about Kimanis and Benoni.

Whilst the Iris was at anchor off the former river, the surgeon being anxious to renew his stock of leeches, one of the officers, who was going to visit the village, was furnished with a supply of long cloth, wherewith to obtain them. On his arrival at the orang-kaya's house, he stated his wants, and offered a yard of long cloth (value four pence) for every hundred. Off started all the little boys in the place, in great glee at the prospect of obtaining such riches, and, in less than a quarter-of-an-hour, returned with cocoa-nut-shells full of fine large leeches. On inquiry, it was found that they waded into certain marshes and pools near the river's banks, and thus took advantage of the animal's appetite to capture them.

Coal is the last article in our list, but it is certainly, politically (and perhaps also commercially), the most important of all. It has been found in several places near the Brunè river, and also on the island of Labuan. The Hon. Company's

steamer Nemesis was recently coaled from the seam discovered by Lieutenant Heath in the latter place, and the engineers report it to be the best coal for steaming purposes which they have met with in India, its chief merit being an absence of clinking, and the little necessity for raking or poking, besides which it has the advantage of leaving only a small quantity of light white ash, and is cleared out with comparative facility. 1847.

This coal was first noticed cropping out from the western shore in March, 1845, as described in Mr. Brooke's journal, and a large specimen of it was forwarded to the Museum of Practical Geology in the following July, which, upon analysis, was found to contain—

	Parts.
Carbon	4·52.
Hydrogen	4·74.
Sulphur	1·45.
Nitrogen	0·80.
Oxygen	20·75.
Ashes	7·74.
	100·00.

Dr. Lyon Playfair, by whom this analysis was effected, has, by a late communication made to the Earl of Auckland, mentioned the probability that the specimen analysed might not be a fair sample of the Labuan coal, and certainly, when we consider that the mass, when it was detached, rose

1847. through the sands like any other rock, and might have been subject to the influence of the sea for a length of time, we cannot expect it to be a fair specimen; at the same time its occurrence on the shore, unremoved by the action of the breakers, and its firm condition after so long a transport in part upon the back of a camel from Suez across the desert, prove a great degree of hardness, a quality of importance when employed for steamers. An analysis was also made (by Richardson) of a variety of parrot, or canal coal, sent from Edinburgh to this museum, which was found to resemble Labuan coal more than the Newcastle.

It is now ascertained that the Labuan coal-seams merely form portions of the great beds which were discovered by Sir Thomas Cochrane and Mr. Brooke, and which are themselves the continuation of the eleven and three-feet beds which cross the Kiangi stream, at a very short distance from the city of Brunè. It is curious that these two beds, which nearly join each other, should be so different in composition, as will be seen by the following analysis: —

	11 feet bed.		3 feet bed.
Carbon -	70·3	—	54·3
Hydrogen	5·4	—	5·0
Sulphur -	1·2	—	1·1
Nitrogen -	0·7	—	1·0
Oxygen -	20·0	—	24·2
Ashes -	3·2	—	14·3
	100.0		100.0

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF THE

To face page 318. Vol. II.

Drawn by Lieut Heath.

COAL SEAM AT LABUAN.

1847.

It will be observed that the eleven-feet bed is much the best as to ashes.

In continuation of these remarks, I will add, that Sir Henry de la Beche has further expressed his opinion, that the coal of Labuan should be systematically and carefully worked, so that a hasty and inconsiderate extraction, near the surface, may not impede or damage subsequent workings at greater depth. A dip of 24°, and a nine-feet bed, are conditions for much care while under them, but with due precautions a large amount of coal might be obtained in the distance from which the coal-bed is supposed to run.

Should there ever be another war, the command of this coal district will be of vast importance; and in the mean time, the quickly increasing numbers of steamers in the neighbouring seas will probably draw their supplies from thence. The price of Coal at Singapore and Hong Kong, at present, averages from thirty to thirty-five shillings a ton; whilst the coal from the bed on Labuan, notwithstanding the disadvantage of bad tools and unscientific arrangement, is now supplied to our war steamers at seventeen shillings; a calculation has also been made, that the coal from the mainland may be stacked on the river's bank, ready for shipping, at six shillings a ton, which will probably be about the price to which the Labuan coal will eventually fall. It is, moreover, probable that, in a country whose surface is covered with vegetation, and whose inhabitants are, from the abundance of firewood, unacquainted

1847. even with the use of coal, there are many outcropping seams still undiscovered, which will reward a careful and diligent searcher. Lieutenant Gordon, in his recent examination of Pulo Tiga, found evidence of the neighbourhood of coal-fields.

The imports at present in demand at Brunè, are longcloths, coarse crockery, iron pans, called quallies, bar-iron, brass-wire, salt, and gambiers; to which may be added, firearms of all descriptions.

The small currency of the town of Brunè, for marketing purposes, consists of square pieces of bar-iron; but the natives are well acquainted with dollars, and, in some cases, prefer them to their value in cloth.

The pikul and the catty are the weights of the country: the pikul is equal to 100 catties, each catty being 1¼ pound, avoirdupois. The yard and the fathom are used in measuring.

The brig Amelia was the first trading vessel which arrived on the coast subsequent to Sir Thomas Cochrane's recent operations. She was chartered by Baba Binting, one of that enterprising race, the straits Chinamen, who are the descendants, by Malay mothers, of the last generation of Chinamen, which emigrated to our various settlements in the straits of Malacca and Singapore. As I strictly prohibited settling at Labuan, he took his brig up to the town of Brunè, and there opened a barter traffic, with eager customers. He describes the natives as remarkably well behaved; their curiosity was a hinderance for the first few days, but that

soon wore off. The prices obtained by him were as follows; but it must be recollected, that being the first in the field, he received the reward due to his enterprise, in higher prices than can be reckoned on for the future. 1847.

1 Pikul gambier = 3 pikuls black pepper.
1 Piece belacho cloth = 5½ pikuls sago.
8½ Pieces belacho cloth = 1 pikul bees' wax.

Belacho cloth is a species of coarse nankeen well known at Singapore.

In connection with the probable prospect of Labuan trade, it may be mentioned, that in former days, large junks of 500 tons were built at Brunè. Labuan offers good inducements to Chinese ship builders; timber well suited for the purpose, and dammer, a sort of resin, used instead of pitch, abound on the island. The protection afforded by the English Government, and the excellence of Victoria Harbour, will leave little wanting but Chinese skill and industry to revive this ancient source of prosperity.

As the spread of civilisation, and the extension of British commerce, are the principal inducements to colonising Labuan, let us hope, that these twin daughters of Britain may advance, hand in hand, amongst the, as yet, untutored children of Borneo.

CHAP. XIII.

SUCCESS OF SIR THOMAS COCHRANE'S POLICY. — IRIS SAILS FOR ENGLAND. — CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. — ST. HELENA. — ASCENSION. — ARRIVE AT SPITHEAD. — INTELLIGENCE FROM BORNEO. — MR. BROOKE AT BRUNÈ. — ACTION OF THE NEMESIS AND BALANINI PIRATES. — GALLANT CONDUCT OF COMMANDER GREY. — ADMIRABLE DEFENCE OF THE PIRATES. — THEIR DEFEAT. — RELEASE OF CAPTIVES. — EXECUTION OF PIRATES BY THE SULTAN. — MR. BROOKE RETURNS TO SARĀWAK. — EMBARKS FOR ENGLAND. — DETENTION AT CEYLON. — ARRIVES AT SOUTHAMPTON, AFTER AN ABSENCE OF NINE YEARS. — REMARKS ON MR. BROOKE'S CAREER. — FLATTERING RECEPTION IN ENGLAND. — VISIT TO HER MAJESTY AT WINDSOR. — APPOINTED GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AT LABUAN. — RECEIVES THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY OF LONDON. — MISSIONARY MEETINGS. — CONCLUSION.

1847. PINANG. During my stay in this harbour I have had the opportunity of looking over the English journals and periodicals at the public library, and I observe therein many mistakes relative to the late policy pursued in regard to Borneo, and the consequent operations on the north-west coast by the British fleet under the orders of Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, which these journals represent to have been the result of the opinion and advice of the Governor General of India.

The fact, however, is exactly the reverse, as Lord Hardinge, occupied by the momentous state

of affairs of northern India, and holding his court at Simla, was necessarily quite ignorant both of the plans and intentions of the naval commander-in-chief, to whose firm and energetic policy the late commercial prosperity and establishment of security on the Borneo coast is solely attributable, and who, foreseeing the danger of waiting for definite instructions from home, took upon himself the great responsibility of acting at once vigorously against the sultan, and thereby (as mentioned in the journals of Mr. Brooke) "prevented the retrogression to barbarism of the native community, and secured the rising commerce of the great island of Borneo." 1847.

Objects are not frequently seen through a similar medium at 14,000 miles' distance as when close at hand, and vicarious duties are, moreover, burdened with the risk of not being exactly performed in the manner that the ruling powers in Downing Street and the Admiralty would wish; it must, therefore, have been a source of much gratification to the commander-in-chief to have heard that both his policy and plan of operations had met with the approval of her Majesty's government.

I also observe that some of the minor periodicals to the eastward of the Cape are inclined to dwell unfairly on the loss of life which has been occasioned by the admiral's proceedings on the coast of Borneo, and they seem to imagine that the same happy results might have been obtained by a different line of action. When, however, the nature

1847. of the service, the climate, and the necessity of combined operations on so extensive a coast are maturely considered, I am fully persuaded that we have every reason to be thankful that we have not to deplore the loss of a still greater number of valuable lives.

The total amount of casualties during the several expeditions undertaken by Sir Thomas Cochrane, amounts to about fifteen killed and forty-five wounded, to which we may add, between twenty and thirty more, inclusive of six officers who fell victims to the climate, a total which surely may be considered less than could have been anticipated, when the necessity of acting against the pirate communities, and subsequently against the sultan, was at first resolved upon, and certainly it was the general opinion of all engaged in forcing the batteries of the river Brunè, that the plan of attack adopted by the admiral alone prevented a heavy loss to the naval forces engaged in that service.

May 23. *May* 23.—Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope. I took my departure from Acheen Head, Sumatra, on the 12th of April (a memorable day in my family), and after a passage of forty-one days, arrived here yesterday, and found in the anchorage the President, 50, Captain Stanley, with the flag of Rear Admiral Dacres, and the steamers Spiteful and Rosamond.

I was glad to have this opportunity of renewing my acquaintance with the commander-in-chief, whom I had not seen for many years. I found him

busily engaged about the arrangements for the light-house on Cape Agulhas, and anxiously expecting news from the frontier relative to the Kaffre war, which, from existing circumstances, appeared little likely to be brought to a speedy termination. 1847.

May 29. — The Spiteful steamed away to-day at noon for Spithead. She will have three days' start of the Iris. Yet I have been bold enough to make a small bet with my young friend, Sir William Hoste, her intelligent commander, that I shall land in England before him; he calculates on gaining several days by working out systematically a plan of his own for reducing the expenditure of fuel, and which, I understand, he has already tried successfully in the Indian seas. May 29.

June 1. — This morning I sailed from Simon's Bay, having passed nine days there very agreeably, finding at all times a hearty welcome at the hospitable mansion of the commander-in-chief, and enjoying much the enlivening society of his amiable family. I passed a couple of days at Cape Town, and renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, from whom I received much instructive information relative to the colony, and the protracted war against the Kaffres. June 1.

June 13. — St. Helena. I anchored here on the 11th, and found that the Spiteful had arrived two days before me, and after a stay of eight hours to take in coal, started for Ascension. I shall follow June 13.

1847. to-morrow, having completed water, and received on board stores for the commodore's squadron on the coast of Africa.

June 19. *June* 19.—Ascension. After thoroughly enjoying a couple of quiet days at Plantation House with the Governor, General Sir Patrick Ross and family, I sailed from St. Helena on the 14th, and was glad on my arrival here to find the Penelope bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., at anchor in the roads. I was doubly pleased at thus unexpectedly meeting with an old friend and brother collegian, as it gave me the opportunity of congratulating him on his brilliant successes in the river Parana, and on the distinguished marks of favour which he had received from her Majesty.

The island of Ascension presented a very different aspect to that which I remembered four years ago. It was then a hot bed of discontent, with irregularity and disorder pervading every department of the government; whereas now, under the able superintendence of Captain Hutton of the royal navy, its various branches had undergone a thorough renovation; and a ready desire was manifested to afford all the assistance that the limited means of the settlement would admit of.

I found that the Spiteful had departed the evening previous to our arrival, so we are close upon her heels; but as she was obliged to leave the island thirty tons short of coal, she starts at a disadvantage on the long voyage to the channel.

1847.

June 21. — I remained two days at Ascension, and learnt from many quarters that the African squadron was in high order; that many of the cruisers had been very successful in capturing slavers; but that notwithstanding these efforts, the slave trade was much on the increase. June 21.

Sept. 1. — We reached Spithead on the 26th of July; and found that the Spiteful had anchored there just a week before us; consequently her commander is the winner of the wager. I found, on examining the logs, that we had passed the Western Islands only twenty-four hours after the steamer, from which date we had contrary winds. However, I confess that on this occasion Sir William Hoste's plan of using the expansive gear triumphed even over the weatherly qualities of the Iris. But it is now time that I should again refer to the affairs of Borneo, for it was at the period in which I am now writing that the overland mail from India and China reached this country, bringing the dates from Sarāwak and Labuan to the beginning of June; and as by this opportunity I learned from my friend Brooke that he was about to leave his adopted country and revisit England for a few months, I will here give an account of his movements and proceedings since we parted company at Pinang early in April. Sept. 1.

In the course of that month Mr. Brooke proceeded to Singapore, where he prepared additional articles to a treaty which had been forwarded to him by the British Government for the arrange-

1847. ment of the commercial relations between Great Britain and Borneo; and he subsequently returned to Sarāwak, where he found that, during his absence of four months, nothing had occurred to disturb the growing prosperity of the colony. The Sakarran Dyaks had, however, at one period, shown a disposition to send a division of their fleet to sea; but, on the intimation that they would not be allowed to pass through the narrows at a fortified position belonging to one of the chiefs friendly to the English rajah, the attempt was abandoned. From late information, it appears probable that these gentry may have intended to form a junction with a small division of the Balanini pirate fleet, which was at this time known to be in the neighbourhood, as accounts of their daring and successful attacks upon several villages near the Dutch settlements, to the southward of Lintin, had reached Sarāwak not long before. Of the formidable opponent which these Balaninis subsequently encountered, particulars will shortly be given; and possibly, for ages to come, the courage displayed, as well as the fatal results of their first acquaintance with the steam power of the West, will be traditionally recorded by their descendants.

In the middle of May Mr. Brooke embarked on board the Hon. Company's steamer Nemesis, and proceeded to Labuan. On arrival in Victoria Harbour, he found her Majesty's brigs Columbine and Royalist, when their commanders, Captain Charles Grey and Lieutenant Gordon, put them-

selves on board the steamer, and, taking a small party of marines as an escort for Mr. Brooke, she crossed over to the Borneo river, and went on direct to Brunè. 1847.

After the usual deliberations and delays from native indolence, and from the opposition of the remnant of the turbulent party, the sultan's seal was affixed to the commercial treaty, and in the evening of the 29th of May, Mr. Brooke took leave of his Highness and the pangerans, and at the same time Lieutenant Gordon, anxious to return as quickly as possible to his vessel, proceeded in his gig direct to Labuan.

It was on the following morning after daylight, that the Nemesis left her anchorage off the city of Brunè; and at 7h. 30m. A.M., when a short distance beyond Cherimon Island, having got on the edge of the bank, she reduced her speed, and was engaged in extricating herself from this narrow channel, when a canoe, passing by, hailed her, and gave information of a fleet of pirates being in the offing, which, according to the statement of the affrighted crew, had chased them the previous evening into the entrance of the river.

Full power was immediately put on the steamer, and at 9h. 30m., whilst rounding Moarra Point the pirate vessels, eleven in number, were seen from the masthead in full chase of a fishing-boat, which was endeavouring to escape towards Labuan. The Nemesis, so well known for her active services in China, had at this time a complement of eighty

1847. men (officers included), the whole of the crew being English with the exception of six. Twenty-three men, including eight marines, were also on board her from the Columbine, with Commander Charles Grey.

So soon as the pirates discovered the steamer they relinquished the chase, and altering their course, pulled away to the westward directly across the extensive Moarra Shoal, whilst, owing to the small depth of water over it, the Nemesis was obliged to make the round of three or four miles before she could steer in the direction taken by the prahus.

About eleven A. M., Mr. Brooke clearly made out the strangers to be regular Balanini pirates, and acquainted Commander Grey and Mr. Wallage with the character of the enemy they were about to engage. At noon, the pirates observing that the steamer was coming up with them rapidly, and that escape was impossible, determined to take up the best position for defence, and accordingly run in for the shore near the island of Pilungan, and when within a few yards of the beach in a small bay, they anchored in line with their heads to seaward, about ten yards apart, and joining the prahus together with hawsers, awaited the approach of their novel and formidable opponent.

At one P. M. the Nemesis, having arrived within a few hundred yards of the enemy, with less than two fathoms' water and a heavy ground swell, lowered her boat, and Mr. Wallage was in the act of

sending her away, under the orders of Mr. Scott, paymaster and purser, (who volunteered for this dangerous service,) to enter into a parley with the strangers, when the pirates put a stop to such a measure, by opening their fire along the whole extent of their line, by which one man was killed on board the Nemesis. The fire was quickly returned from the steamer, and the action became general; the Nemesis moving at the distance of 200 yards from one extreme of the position to the other, pouring in round shot, grape, and canister, from her two thirty-pounders, which, with four long-sixes, composed her armament. After two hours' cannonade, several of the pirate prahus were considerably damaged, and partially deserted by the crews, and there appearing to be a general confusion amongst them, Captain Grey deemed that the moment had arrived for making a dash with the boats; and, accordingly, shoving off with the cutter of the Columbine, manned with her crew and the party of marines, and assisted by the two cutters of the Nemesis, armed each with a brass five-pounder, a vigorous attack was made at the left of the enemy's position; when, after a most gallant defence made by the Balaninis, the men fighting hand to hand in the water, two of the prahus were taken possession of. The Nemesis during this time continued to pour in grape with much effect, though, owing to the heavy ground swell, most of the round shot passed into the jungle beyond. At four P. M. three of the prahus on the extreme right,

1847.

1847. casting off the hawsers, took advantage of a breeze which had sprung up, and crowding all sail bore away to the eastward, the boats under Captain Grey continuing the action on the left.

The Nemesis, observing that two of the prahus were already captured by the boats, and the other six were lying upon the beach deserted by the crews, who had fled into the jungle, now steamed away in chase of the three prahus above named, which were endeavouring to make their escape towards Labuan.

Captain Grey, in the mean while, proceeded to secure the prizes which were apparently lying disabled on the beach, but no sooner did the pirates observe that the steamer was absent, than they returned in force to their vessels, and before Captain Grey was enabled to prevent their manœuvre, they gallantly remanned five of their prahus, launched them with great rapidity, and made a bold attempt to pass out to seaward of the cutters. The action was immediately resumed by Captain Grey making a combined movement against the largest prahu in the rear, and a smaller one attached to her, and, as the other three directly bore down to their support, the cutters would have had an overpowering force upon them, when Mr. Wallage, observing that the boats were thus unequally matched, returned with all despatch to their assistance, thus enabling the prahus, of which the Nemesis was in chase, to continue their course towards Labuan. These were shortly afterwards joined by another of the large

1847.

class prahus, which having been driven upon the shore at the early part of the conflict had been subsequently remanned, and pulling away in the direction of her friends, thus made the fourth which effected their escape to the eastward.

As soon as the five prahus in action with the cutters ascertained that the Nemesis was again steaming towards them, they discontinued the fight, and pulled away to the westward, closely followed by the boats. Two hours had now elapsed since the commencement of the boat action, and at this time the colour serjeant of marines and six men on board the cutters had been wounded, many of them seriously. They were put on board the steamer so soon as she rejoined, and the chase was then continued until eight P.M., at which hour three of the prahus were captured and destroyed, the other two making their escape in the dusk of the evening.

From this account, it will be seen that out of the eleven prahus six effected their escape. One of the first class was secured, and four were destroyed. The largest prahu mounted six guns, one of which was a brass nine pounder, and carried a crew of fifty men. The prahus were protected by ampilans, or flat musket proof boards fitted to the gunnel. The total force of the Balaninis on board their vessels was about three hundred and fifty men; the complement of the Nemesis, including the men from the Columbine, being one hundred and four.

The loss on our side was two men killed and six wounded; that of the pirates between forty and

1847. fifty dead on the beach, besides ten killed in the prahus.

About 100 captives were in confinement in this fleet, chained round the neck in couples by rattans; many of these unfortunate people were also killed and wounded by the fire of the Nemesis, as their barbarous masters had obliged them to come up from below, and sit on the deck during the action. None of the pirates were taken alive, which shows the desperation with which they fought, indeed, strongly as we must reprobate their horrible cruelties, it is impossible not to admire their bravery and undaunted resolution, for it is difficult to imagine the impression which the first sight of their formidable opponent must have made upon them, and the fact of their taking up the best possible position for mutual support and defence, proved that they were not altogether devoid of nautical tactics.

Of the judicious and able conduct of Captain Grey, and the officers and men under his orders I need not speak; he has received the thanks of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the gallantry exhibited by himself and those under his command on this occasion, and the same expression of praise has been transmitted to Mr. Wallage through the Hon. Company's department. Mr. Harvey and Mr. Wootton, naval cadets, were with Captain Grey. Several shot struck the Nemesis, but did not penetrate the iron. The expenditure of ammunition on board the steamer was great,

160 round shot and nearly 500 charges of grape and canister were fired at the pirates; and it is not therefore surprising that of the six which escaped three only managed to reach their native islands in the Sulu sea, the other three having foundered on the passage. On the morning after the affray they all touched at the north point of Labuan and took in water from the cascade which I have previously described. 1847.

The Nemesis returned to Labuan the same evening, where she found the Columbine and Royalist at anchor, but those vessels, being nearly twenty miles from the scene of action, knew nothing of the pirates being in the vicinity.

On the following morning a flotilla of native gun-boats arrived from Brunè, having been dispatched by the sultan when the cannonade was heard. Mr. Brooke immediately sent word to his highness that several of the captives were on shore in the jungle, and that he trusted they would be protected and taken care of by the Borneo government.

Dec. 30.—By late information we learn, that between forty and fifty of the pirates who had taken refuge in the jungle had been captured by the forces of the sultan sent in pursuit, and were brought prisoners to Brunè, whilst the numerous captives were liberated and forwarded to Singapore. These men were principally Chinese and Malays, and, after wandering many days in the jungle, had found their way to Brunè. Here they Dec. 30.

1847. were at once kindly treated, and being confronted with the pirates their late masters, arms were put into their hands by the orders of the sultan, and they were desired to take vengeance on their oppressors. This they resolutely refused to do, whereupon the sultan commanded that the pirates should be immediately executed, which was done by the chiefs and armed people rushing upon them and cutting them down on the spot.

The following details of the devastations made by these pirates previous to their arrival off the Borneo river have also been received. Separating from the main body of the fleet early in the year, they had made the circuit of the island of Borneo, and after committing the depredations already alluded to, had made an attack on Sirhassan in the south Natunas, where they were repulsed; but landing subsequently in a secure bay, they repaired their vessels, and committed the atrocious act of burning one of their Chinese captives alive, and perpetrated other orgies too dreadful to relate. From thence they stood over to Sarāwak, off which river they held a council of war as to the propriety of making a descent on that rising settlement, but understanding that some ships of war were at anchor off the town, they thought it advisable to continue their course to the northward; and it was at the last stage of a cruize of nearly a year's duration that, laden with their captives, and their booty, they accidentally fell in with the Nemesis as she was returning with Mr. Brooke from Brunè

thus giving the English rajah the opportunity on the very eve of his departure from Borneo of inflicting the severe chastisement which I have just described. 1847.

In the month of June Mr. Brooke returned to Sarāwak, where he remained a short time to make the indispensable arrangements for the government of his province during his proposed visit to his native country, and by the July mail steamer he started for England. On arriving at Point de Galle, Ceylon, he found that the branch steamer had already departed for Suez, and he was therefore compelled to remain at Colombo till the following month. Mr. Brooke finally reached Southampton in one of the Oriental Company's steamers on the 1st of October, where Captain Keppel, and myself, with a few of his nearest relations, had been some days waiting to give him a welcome to his native land, from which he had been absent just nine years. Mr. Brooke had, moreover, the satisfaction of hearing that Captain Keppel had been appointed to the command of her Majesty's ship Meander, which frigate the Earl of Aukland had placed at the disposal of the rajah for the purpose of conveying him to Labuan, of which island he had been appointed governor and commander-in-chief, with a most able co-adjutor in his friend, Mr. Napier, who had at the same time been nominated lieutenant-governor.

It will, I think, not be out of place, if I here briefly relate the positive benefits conferred on the

1847. civilised world by the extraordinary career of Mr. Brooke in the Eastern seas, for I believe that the European public at large have hitherto been totally ignorant of the *practical* effects which have arisen from the energetic policy of this great man; and though his own countrymen have long known that the shores of Borneo have for ages past been infested by pirates, and the sea board of that vast island peopled by a race "whose hand was against every man;" yet I feel assured, that whilst very few have been acquainted with the immense numbers and power of the piratical tribes, and with their astonishing organisation, exceeding anything that was known in the days of the Buccaneers and freebooters of the western hemisphere; they have also been equally unaware of the lengthened captivity and cruel treatment which the crews of shipwrecked and captured vessels met with from the hands of their barbarous masters, who it must be remembered, inhabiting a coast 700 miles in extent, were in league with the great Illanun and Balanini communities, and all who fell within the merciless grasp of either party, met either death or the miseries of perpetual slavery.

The navigation of that part of the China sea immediately to the northward of Borneo is the most dangerous of any part of the globe traversed by European vessels. A glance at the map shows us a space of water literally studded with coral reefs and patches of rocks, and instead of being surprised at the numbers of accidents which an-

nually occur to the shipping which enter this high- 1847.
way of the sea, we are astonished that so many should succeed in passing through in safety; but when added to these natural impediments to a secure communication with the coast of China and the Philippines (whose commerce is yearly becoming of greater importance to Great Britain), it is known, that in the event of shipwreck there is no hope for the wretched mariner if compelled to take to the boats and to abandon the vessel, we may well deplore the lamentable fact, that the great naval powers of Christian Europe have not long ago united to suppress these enormities.

The north-east monsoon during seven months of the year blows with great force throughout the China seas, bringing with it so heavy a sea that no boats could live unless put before the wind.

Yet to do this would be to bear away for a heathen and merciless land, where certain slavery, if not immediate torture and death, awaits them, and therefore, as the only other alternative, the plan adopted, under these fearful circumstances, has been to endeavour to gain the Straits of Singapore or the Gulf of Siam, where alone a landing might be effected with any hope of safety.

Laying aside, then, all suppositions or prophetic views of the extent of civilisation which may hereafter arise from the moral influence and humane conduct of Mr. Brooke in his own province of Sarāwak, I will, as I proposed at the commencement of these remarks, shortly narrate the positive good

1847. which has already arisen from his patient labours.

Each reader of these volumes will probably form his own opinion, but, to my mind, the astonishing fact of the inhabitants of the whole north-west coast of Borneo, extending from Cape Datu to Malludu Bay, being now so far weaned from their savage habits as to insure the personal safety of any European who may be thrown by shipwreck or otherwise upon their shores, is the triumph which should ever stand the first amongst the many which Mr. Brooke has achieved in that violent land; whilst the knowledge that he has individually been the means of rescuing from a state of slavery between twenty and thirty of his own countrymen, and other subjects of his sovereign, who without the magic influence of his name would to this day have been groaning beneath the yoke of Bornean bondage, must ever be to him a source of unbounded gratification.

In confirmation of the knowledge of the change in the state of affairs in this quarter, I will observe, that not long before Mr. Brooke left Sarāwak, a large American ship was totally wrecked on some of the shoals off the South Natunas, and as this disaster occurred at the height of the violent monsoon, the boats immediately bore up for the Borneo coast, and, landing in safety, were provided by native boats, with which they crossed over to Singapore.

Another great benefit conferred on the commercial world by Mr. Brooke has been the success of the

1847.

resolute efforts which he systematically carried on for the suppression of piracy. I have already remarked, that no one can be surprised when he reads that pirates infest the Eastern Archipelago, for, scanty as our knowledge has hitherto been of that region, still the early circumnavigators have frequently alluded to these rovers of the sea; but when we are informed that Dyak fleets of two hundred vessels, manned with four or five thousand men, were frequently cruising off the province of Sarāwak, carrying desolation and destruction in every direction, and at the same time learnt that Illanun and Balanini fleets, even better organised, and equally great as to numbers, were also ravaging the shores of every peaceful tribe, and rendering the navigation of the seas so perilous, that no merchant vessel dare approach within the limit of their cruising ground, we could scarcely credit this startling announcement. Yet so it was! From the many accounts of these pirate communities given by Mr. Brooke in various parts of his journals, we are enabled to form an opinion of the magnitude of their undertakings, and the subsequent operations of her Majesty's squadron against them have proved the correctness of Mr. Brooke's judgment as to their intrepid character and savage nature. Wherefore the rendering the north-west coast of Borneo a refuge for the shipwrecked of all nations, and the suppression of piracy in the eastern seas, are what I consider the most prominent of the benefits conferred on the civilised world by Mr. Brooke.

1847. The opening of the vast coal fields, and the gradual development of a rich island, for the mutual benefit of his own country, and of Borneo, together with his patient endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the aboriginal inhabitants, are well known to the British public, who, since his return to his native land, have every where received him with most marked distinction, and expressed their high admiration of his character.

The first to show him honour was her Majesty the queen, who invited him to Windsor, and received him most graciously; and previously to his departure was pleased to hold a long conversation with him on the subject of Borneo, and of his operations in that quarter of the globe.

Mr. Brooke was frequently consulted by her Majesty's ministers relative to the great field about to open in those regions for British commerce, and the mercantile community throughout the kingdom sought information on this important question.

The lord mayor and aldermen of the metropolis manifested their opinion of his labours by the presentation of the freedom of the city of London in a gold-box, when one of the largest assemblies ever remembered at the Guildhall met to witness the ceremony.

Several of the great companies of London invited him to their halls, and he was admitted as a member of the Hon. Goldsmiths' and Fishmongers' Companies. The University of Oxford

gave Mr. Brooke a most flattering reception, and conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. 1847.

Mr. Brooke had, moreover, the gratification of being received as a visitor during his stay in England at the United Service Club, an honour conferred for the first time since the institution of that establishment on any English gentleman not holding either naval or military rank; but, serving so much as my friend had done with both the services, subsequently to his being compelled to quit the Indian army from the severity of his wounds received in the Burmese war, he felt the compliment paid to him by the members of the United Service Club as one the most agreeable to his feelings of any that had been bestowed upon him. The example shown by the United Service Club was immediately followed by the Junior United Service, the Navy and Army Club, the Athenæum, Travellers', and other literary and scientific institutions.

Finally, at the close of the month of November a very numerous meeting was heldin the Hanover-square Rooms on account of the Borneo Mission, which, under the direction of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London, had been organised in the preceding year, and, through the great exertions of the Earl of Ellesmere and the Rev. Charles Brereton, as honorary secretary, with the assistance of the other members of the committee of management, had already received such benefactions and

1847. subscriptions as promised to provide an adequate fund for the endowment of a mission-house and school in the province of Sarāwak. Since my return to England, at the request of the committee, I had joined that body, and with Capt. Bethune, and the Hon. Capt. Keppel, attended its meetings, when we found the reverend gentlemen, composing the majority of the committee, most willing to receive the opinions and suggestions of those who had practical knowledge of the country to which the ministers of the Gospel were so shortly to proceed.

The Lord Bishop of Winchester presided over the above meeting, when many admirable speeches were delivered by his Lordship, by the Lord Bishop of Norwich, Sir Robert Inglis, and other gentlemen present; and Mr. Brooke, having been called upon to address the assembly, he in most impressive and feeling language announced his determination of giving the members of the mission every support in his power, and expressed a confident belief that eventual success would attend their labours. The collection raised on this occasion was considerable, and it is to be hoped that much larger contributions will be afforded by the sympathizing British public, so as to enable the missionaries immediately to establish schools, and commence the work of educating the Malay and Dyak youth, preparatory to the introduction of the Gospel in that benighted land.

Similar meetings have also been held at Bath,

Exeter, and other provincial towns, in aid of this important mission. 1847.

Two zealous ministers of the Church of England, Messrs. M'Dougall and Wright, embarked early this month, with their wives and families, and are now on their voyage to Borneo. May God speed their labour of love!

POSTSCRIPT.

By recent intelligence from the coast of Borneo, I learn that Rear-Admiral Inglefield, C. B., Commander-in-Chief in India and China, had visited the sultan at Brunè, and found his highness, his ministers, and the pangerans, disposed and anxious to act up to the treaty made with Great Britain. 1848.

With respect to the capabilities of Labuan, the rear-admiral states his belief that, when the marshy grounds are cleared and drained, it will become a valuable settlement, as it possesses the advantages of fine timber, a rich virgin soil, and good water.

The steamers on the station were, at this time, supplied with coal from the seam at the north end of the island, upon which about 200 native workmen were employed. I have satisfactory intelligence from Sarāwak to the end of December, at which date preparations were already in progress for the erection of the native school house.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

GEOLOGY OF SARĀWAK.

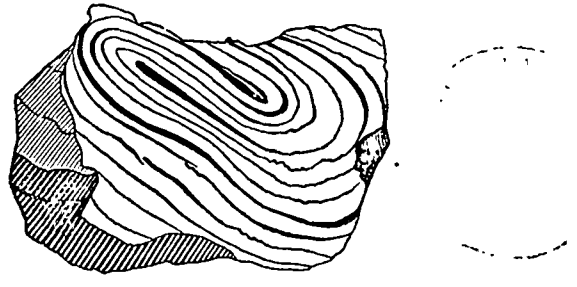
DIFFICULTIES OF OBTAINING INFORMATION. — SANTUBONG MOUNTAIN. — COAST GEOLOGY. — MIXED MATERIALS. — LARGE BOULDERS. — IGNEOUS ROCKS. — SOIL. — VARIETIES OF CONFORMATION. — LIMESTONE FORMATIONS. — ANTIMONY ORE. — IMMENSE NATURAL CAVES OF GUNONG TABONG. — CAVERN TEMPLES. — THE FIRE MOUNTAIN. — MINERAL VEINS. — GOLD MINES AND METHOD OF WORKING TIN AND LEAD. — IRON MINES. — COAL FORMATIONS. — BITUMINOUS SHALE. — PULO-KA-INGARAN. — COAL OF KIANGI, MOARRA, AND LABUAN.

HOWEVER easy it may appear to trace the geological structure of some countries, in Sarāwak and indeed all other parts of Borneo with which we are acquainted, the difficulties of a minute examination are almost insurmountable from the unusual density of the vegetation and the great depth of alluvial soil, covering nearly the whole face of the stratification of this almost unknown country. But by following, during a very laborious survey, the only path then open to examination, we have been able to lay down as nearly as possible, on the accompanying plan, the points of junction of the different stratifications from the coast at Santubong and Moratabas, and thence we proceed to notice the argillaceous slates of the interior, extending for a considerable distance eastward into the Sadong country. (See Plan.)

At the base, and on the western side of the Santubong peak, there are regular conformable beds of hard sand-stone, conglomerates, and indurated shale, dipping N. W. at an angle of about 18°. The strike of these beds runs in a direct line towards the peak, which is an abrupt elevation of 2712 feet above the level of the sea. These beds appear to be conformable for about a mile northward, as far as the neck of land, which stretches out towards the sea. Then the whole formation northward as far as Tanjang Sepang is much disturbed and contorted, and intersected by faults, which run in an east and west direction. Some of these faults throw up the lower beds of soft sand-stone and conglomerate, as are seen on the south side, which would otherwise have been concealed below the bed of the sea at this point. All along the east coast this neck of land from Sepang towards the mouth of the Buntal river, we find the stratification to correspond with that on the west side, until within about a mile and three quarters from the entrance of the river, where we meet with a silicious deposit on the south of Santubong.

The Gingang group is about a mile and three quarters south of the Santubong peak, the formation of which is likewise very much disturbed and thrown into a confused heap of numerous boulders. At the south side of the bay the lower beds dip nearly perpendicularly, inclining towards the north-east. They are traversed by thin plates of red silica, which is much harder than the general mass.

These plates bear evidence of the deposit having been bent by strong pressure endwise, while in a soft state. The annexed figure, drawn from a block on the spot, displays the lines of contortions of these beds.



Although there is such an abundant mixture of these rocks in the vicinity of Buntal Bay, still the only coast section to be obtained of them is at Gingang. At the north-east end of this group of hills there is a fine fresh water stream, and on tracing it to its source, we had to climb perpendicular precipices of silicious rock, over which the water falls in beautiful cascades, seven in number: on either side of the valley there are no regular lines of stratification traceable. At the very top of the highest range we find large rounded boulders, measuring from twenty to forty cubic yards, and having the appearance of being much water worn. Immediately at the back of the highest fall, the stream branches off into many little rivulets which are fed from the various springs of the higher ground.

A little to the south, where the stream empties itself into the Santubong river, large boulders of

red granite are found lying on the silicious formation, but in no other part of this vicinity ; or indeed in the territory, do we find any trace of granite of any description, and the presence of these erratic blocks, associated as they are with the silicious deposit, leads to the supposition that an intrusion of granite exists in the bed of the river between Santubong and Gingang. On the opposite side of the river there is no trace of similar rock, neither is there any on Monkey island, situated about three quarters of a mile west of the waterfall river. This little island is one heap of large boulders of conglomerate and sandstone, such as is found lying in regular beds, on the east side of the peak.

The igneous rocks lying at the back of the siliceous deposit are again found about ten miles north east of Telok-Laki and Tanjong Po, where good coast sections are obtained. On continuing our course along the coast towards the Moratābas river, we likewise find good sections of the felspathic rocks, which run for about six miles into the interior. The lands to the east lie flat, and being covered with a great thickness of alluvial soil, renders it difficult to trace the extent of these formations in that direction. On the west of the Mungu Snari hills, and on the banks of the Serail and Tabu rivers we find the felspathic rock beginning to be decomposed, and on proceeding further south it is met with in a state of fine white porcelain clay.

At Sungi Seol and eastward as far as Lintang and at the mouth of the Gunder river, it is largely

intermixed with small white quartzose pebbles. At the angle of the river at Tanah-puti, about two miles and a half east of Sarāwak, the same clay is seen; but the pebbles exist only on the surface, which is covered with a bed of fine white gravel of about two feet thick. Near Mungu Riam, on the Riam river, and at the angle of the long reach of the Quop river, the same description of white clay is again found, covered with a white detrital matter as at Tanah-puti. Here there is some difficulty in determining the junction of the sand-stone formation with that of the felspathic clay. At Batu Kawa and Si Tapok, the sand-stone deposit is found thrown up in a confused mass as far as the base of the Singhi mountain, and east of Mungu Makal. On the banks of the Tarusangong river the whole contour of the country is flat, with scarcely any trace of this formation visible: nevertheless, where it is seen in the low, flat districts it generally lies conformable, except near the junction on the porphyritic rocks. These latter are first met with on the Sarāwak river, at Ledah-tanah, at the point where the rivers Siniawan and Sarāwak meet, and about half a mile south of the junction of the Quop river. Five miles east of Ledah-tanah, we find these rocks running westward from Mungu Panchur and Gunong-Scunyet, extending to Sarambo, Murong, and Raat mountains. The whole mass at these places is of a greenish colour, and appears an earthy compound of felspar and small crystals of quartz; it is much disturbed and intermingled

with boulders of felspathic rock, terminating amidst limestone formation on the south; whilst on the northern side it is overlapped by the light-red sand-stone of the Singhi and Si-Tapuk mountains.

South of Sarambo the limestone formation joins that of the porphyry; but as we proceed eastward along the line of junction of the limestone and porphyritic systems, and about a mile and a quarter from the Sarāwak river, we find an intrusion of igneous rocks very largely traversed by quartzose veins, in some parts much resembling net-work, but in others they run more regularly. The green, igneous substance which separates these quartzose threads has an irony appearance after a considerable exposure to the atmosphere, as if they had been subjected to a certain degree of heat; and it will be seen, on referring to the map, that the area occupied by this substance is very considerable, extending into the Sadong mountain, and thence skirting the limestone formation through the Nanbi valley, and passing the Jinan village in a direct line to the Siadong river, and then in an easterly direction to Malikin. An igneous formation of a similar character is also found at a small island about seven miles and a half west of Santubong peak, called Little Satang. The difference between the rocks at Quop and Little Satang is, that at the latter place they are not so largely traversed with quartzose veins; but they partake more of an amagdoloid character.

On the south side of the Nanbi valley the lime-

stone formation rises abruptly against that of the igneous rocks of the Sidong range. On the north, the whole surface of this narrow valley is covered with iron-stone, much resembling scoria, and possessing a powerful polarity. The same description of iron-stone is found in great quantities at Jaang, situated south of the Sarambo mountains, imbedded in the alluvial soil. In the same locality are likewise found immense boulders of felspar, traversed by pipes or needles of antimony ore, lying near the junction of the porphyry and limestone formations. The former, as well as the igneous rocks, from their fractured and disturbed condition, appear to have burst with sudden violence through the beds of sandstone and limestone with which they are now associated.

Following the course of the rivers southward, we find a continuation of the limestone formation for about ten miles. On the right side of the Staat river is the Gunong Staat mountain, and on the left that of Gunong Tabong. They rise almost perpendicularly from the base to the summit, and are composed of limestone. At Gunong Tabong we discovered the existence of some immense caves, and the effect on entering them was most remarkable from their extraordinary dimensions and the magnificent appearance of the stalactites forming, as it were, pillars for the support of the roof, indeed giving the beholder the idea of a most exquisite work of art. We could not learn to what purpose these caves had been appropriated; but

they appear to have served for habitation or temples, and they are still frequented by the natives; yet the only means of access is by climbing over immense blocks of stone, by the aid of the branches of the trees which grow here in great luxuriance. The stains of oil visible on the stalactites, which appear to have been used for pedestals for lamps to burn on, lead to the conclusion that these caverns may have been used for habitation or places of worship, most probably the latter. Their sides are smooth, bearing every appearance of being water-worn; and there are likewise smaller chambers within.

This mountain is as unstratified as that of Sarambo, being, as we have already observed, of limestone. Its dimensions are not great, but it rises to the height of about 250 feet.

Caverns of still greater magnitude exist in Gunong Mungu Nanbi, one of the mountains on the south side of the Nanbi valley; and it is said that they have been explored by the Dyaks for a considerable distance under the mountain: large stalactites are visible from the mouth, like those in Tabong, and the beautiful appearance of the perspective is very striking. At Jaang the limestone curves round to the southward with the igneous rocks lying close against it.

About five miles N.W. of the Sidean range is found an unusual mass of fossil remains and bivalved shells, bones of large size, as well as a variety of vegetable impressions. The same descrip-

tion of petrifactions are likewise met with at Penkallan Batu on the banks of the Sampok river, one of the tributaries of the Samarahan.

Tracing the limestone from the Nanbi valley over a very mountainous district as far as Sampro, we find the range to continue from the west of Sampro mountain, north and south. Half way between this point and Buso there is a mountain known by the natives for generations past as the Gunong Api, or the fire mountain; and it is supposed, as its name would indicate, to have been an active volcano. The scoriolaceous matter found throughout the district would warrant this conclusion, and accounts for the appearance of iron and other ores on the exterior.

As the whole of the geological character of the district in question is very much contorted, it becomes difficult to determine the exact dip, and consequently much obscurity prevails from Tanjong Sipang on the coast, to Sennah southward into the interior.

The mineral veins already discovered in the territory of Sarāwak are few, but those known are of the most valuable description. The existence of gold is manifest, from the circumstance of its being found in great quantities mixed with the soil, and detrital matter which is brought down into the valleys by the mountain streams after heavy rain.

Immediately in the vicinity of Bow and Buso, at a place called Jaang, at the back of Sarambo, the Chinese and Malays form pits of about ten yards

square, where the soil is liquefied to such a degree, that, by keeping a current constantly running into the pond, the substance becomes so thin, that the metal necessarily falls to the bottom. The upper surface of this liquid mass is allowed to drain off, when the heavier precipitation is hand-washed, by which means gold-dust is obtained in large quantities. When the torrents have sufficiently subsided, after heavy rains, the natives abandon the localities in which they usually wash the alluvial soil for the beds of the rivers above the influence of the tide, for the purpose of washing the detritus which is brought down from the high ground of the interior. The spot selected for this operation is invariably above a paddock or shoal, where the stream has met with some obstruction, so that the metallic substance, which has been held in suspension by the velocity of the current, has time to precipitate itself. In such situations, it is known that a man may obtain about a quarter of an ounce of gold in the course of two hours.

The land north of Quop, Sidean, Scunyet, Sarambó, and Buso, as far as the sea, skirting the base of the Singhi and Matang Mountains, on the west side, is an immense plain, covered with an unusual thickness of alluvial soil; whilst to the south the whole contour of the country becomes mountainous, very contorted, and uneven. Standing on Raat Mountain, the sea is visible at Santubong and Moratabas, a distance of about seventeen miles; and the Dutch territory of Sambas, to the

southward, is seen about twenty miles distant. The whole of this immense district contains, more or less, gold-dust, and is very little above the level of the sea. The most productive workings, at the present time, are at the base of Buso, on the north side and in the valley between the limestone and porphyry at Jaang to the south of Sarambo, as already observed. Gold-dust is likewise abundantly obtained in the Sarāwak river, near Sennah, lying several miles to the southward of Sampro; but, after leaving the limestone formation, very little is found. Much obscurity, however, prevails as to its origin; the probability is, that the limestone is traversed and intersected by mineral faults, which are much exposed to the influence of abrasion from mountain torrents, and hence its presence in this locality may be accounted for.

At the base of Gunong-japang-batu, and in the bed of a small rivulet, which empties itself into the Rundap river, are found stream tin, and lead, with some grains of gold; the former predominating. Following the same direction eastward, into the Sadong river, we find gold and diamonds. In the territory of Sarāwak, the latter are principally and most abundantly obtained at Santa, near the Sidean Hills. (See map). The stratum in which they are found is a bed of black gravel, from twenty to twenty-six inches in thickness, covered with about ten feet of yellow, and nine feet of white felspathic clay, largely intermixed with quartzose pebbles. From the beds where the diamonds are found, the

natives collect pebbles, with which, when reduced to a fine powder, they polish these and other precious stones. The pebbles selected for this purpose are of a dark brown colour, and when broken have a saccharine texture.

Again, referring to Jaang, Buso, and Bow, where gold-dust is collected from the soil, we may observe, that antimony ore is to be added to the list of metallic productions of these districts. From Bow to Buso, the vein lies nearly horizontal, in the limestone formation, and is easily traced, skirting the rocky cliff, some miles eastward of the latter place; where it appears to be very much dislocated and broken, until it finally enters the Jaang valley. Here it is entirely lost sight of as a lode, but it is found in large boulders of limestone and felspathic rock. For a considerable number of years, and during the governorship of rajah Muda Hassim, the Malays obtained their antimony from Jaang only; but when it was discovered, in a solid seam, at Buso and Bow, they abandoned the mines at Jaang, the ore being considered superior, although, that of Jaang surpasses, in quality, any of our continental home produce.

Intermixed with the soil and boulders of antimony are lumps of iron ore of the scoriolaceous character already described. The aborigines (Dyaks) manufacture their best parangs, or swords, from this description of ore, by the following primitive, but simple process. A small clay pit is dug, twelve inches deep, three inches square at the

bottom, and increasing to about nine inches at the top, this serves for the snelting furnace: then, with two large bambo canes, about three feet long, and three to four inches in diameter, for cylinders, — a smaller cane inserted at the bottom, to act as the tweer, and a bundle of feathers as a piston, — the apparatus is completed. The tweers are so placed as to admit the jet of blast, about two and a half inches above the bottom of the pit, — the pistons are set in motion by the hand, and, when all is prepared, the pit is about half filled with wood charcoal, on which is placed a certain quantity of iron ore; and in about the space of an hour and a half, the whole is fused. The slag is then allowed to run off, and the metal being partially cooled, it is taken out and placed in another similarly constructed furnace, where the process of heating is repeated, for the purpose of refining it. Whilst in a liquified state, the metal is puddled, and then forged on a large stone, (an iron anvil is preferred, if available). By this process, from two to three pounds of iron is made, sufficient for the manufacture of one parang, and when finished, the fibre is found to be fine and closely arranged; and the steel thus produced is equal to any made in Europe.

The state in which the iron ore is found bears strong evidence, of its having been, at some period, subject to the action of fire, and afterwards to the influence of moving water. This inference is drawn from the scoriolaceous appearance of the mineral, from its rounded and abraded form, and from

the locality and detached manner in which it is discovered imbedded in the alluvial soil. The same description of metallic ore is met with, in like manner, over a very considerable area of the country; extending from Raat mountain, westward, to Sadong, a distance of about forty miles, and from Sarāwak, southward, to Sennah. It is observed, also, to be more abundant in the vicinity of the porphyry and igneous formations than in any other locality. The Nanbi valley, as far as Jaang, and thence eastward, to Malikin, about six miles from Sadong, is most prolific in this ore, and its quality is, in every respect, far superior to that obtained at Bow, Buso, or Jaang; but some, which is found near the siliceous formation at Gingang, appears to be very superior, even to this; its positive and negative polarity being much more powerful than any other.

The discovery of lead and tin in the territory of Sarāwak being but recent, does not admit of much being said on the subject of these metals. The stream specimens of the former description of ore, which were obtained from the bed of a small rivulet running at the base of Gunong-japang-Batu are, of what is denominated native lead—almost pure, and is found in the igneous district. Stream tin is known to exist in large quantities east of Sarāwak, in the Sarēbas and Sadong territories. These minerals when fairly developed, there is every reason to infer, will prove of great importance as an article of commerce for the China market.

To the south of Sennah where the limestone deposit is overlapped by the sandstone and clay shale formations, there is strong evidence of the existence of coal between that place and the Sambas boundary. The shales which are seen at Sennah closely resemble those of the coal formations of England and Wales. At Sungan, a Dyak village, about mid-way between Timah and Sennah, the same description of shale is observed, dipping south at an angle of about 30°; but here the shales are very much dislocated, and large boulders are observed intermixed with those of sand-stone. The abraded and fluted appearance of these rocks, although now far removed from the influence of tidal action, lead to the inference that the sea formerly washed their base. From the presence of clay formations in these localities, it is but reasonable to anticipate that a very favourable result will follow a diligent search to the southward.

From the territory of Sarāwak we now proceed to the coal formations on the Brunè river, which runs from Pulo-Cherimon, at its mouth, to the city of Brunè, a distance of about nine miles, between a ridge of hills ranging from 300 to 400 feet in height, which are covered with long grass, jungle, and forest trees. At the back of these hills lies the Kiangi valley, drained by a small stream of the same name, which empties itself into the Brunè, near the city. Following the windings of this little river for about three miles from the town, layers of shale and sand-stone, with small particles of lignite

are met with; and further east from the city, and about a third of a mile from the banks of the river, we find a seam of coal crossing its course nearly at a right angle. On clearing the banks on both sides of the river the thickness of the seam was most satisfactorily ascertained to be eleven feet, inclining N. W., at an angle of dip 80°.. On either side of the seam are six inch thick layers of soft blue shale, containing foliated plates of coal; then a soft sand-stone.

About 220 yards to the south-west, and in the direction of the strike of the seam of coal, a dyke or fault exists, composed of inflammable rock, forming a perpendicular cliff of about 250 feet in height. This fault crosses the strike of the coal, and in all probability disarranges its course in that direction.

Following the channel of the river for about 120 yards S. E. through soft sand-stone, we find a non-bituminous seam of coal three feet four inches in thickness; then a seam of yellow clay two feet thick, lying upon two feet of clay shale, containing very thin foliated plates or layers of coal. About eighty yards further up the stream we come upon a vein seven inches thick of bituminous shale, lying on, and covered with light sand-stone.

At Buwong-Manis, which is about a quarter of a mile from the southern bank of the river, and about three miles from Brunè, there are beds of bituminous shale, precisely similar in character to those already described in the Kiangi valley, largely

intermixed with light soft sandstone. The stratification is in a very disturbed and dislocated condition, and the same observation applies to the whole district westward as far as Gunong Si, and northward of that point as far as the city. West of Buwong-tuyuruk, on the north side of the river, the red mineral water is seen in the flat, marshy lands. Some small thin beds of shale and ironstone are likewise found in the same vicinity. On the south side of the river and nearly at the south-western end of the city, indurated clay and bituminous shales are traced lying on a soft, red sandstone, similar to that found at Buwong-tuyuruk, but very different to what is seen at Kiangi and Buwong-Manis.

Following the river seaward, there are no indications of coal formations to be found until we come to Pulo-Cherimon, a small island at its mouth. Here a seam of coal exists ten inches thick, resting on a bed of bituminous shale, four feet in thickness, which is easily separated into thin plates. The faces of these plates bear impressions of plants imperfectly marked. The coal is hard and bright, and of a non bituminous quality; it dips north-east nearly perpendicularly; within about thirty yards from the place this seam of coal shows itself, there are large boulders of soft sandstone containing pebbles of coal. About three quarters of a mile north of Pulo-Cherimon is a small island, Pulo-ka-Ingatan, so called, from the quantity of coral found on its eastern shore. On the western side a small

seam of coal has been discovered ten inches thick, dipping at the angle of 80° eastward, and lying between two beds of bituminous shale; which bears a very strong resemblance to that at Buwong Manis. The associating rocks are a light soft sandstone, indeed the whole of this island is of the same formation, and very much contorted; it does not lie more than fifty feet above the level of the sea. Some miles to the north-west is situated Pulo-Moarra, where traces likewise of coal have been discovered, and when time shall have developed these districts, the seams of Moarra will doubtless be found to be a continuation of those at Kiangi.

On viewing the position of the coal from Kiangi to Moarra, and its connection with the Brunè river, there can be but little doubt that a large coal field exists, and that upon further research it will prove far more extensive than is at present known. And should it appear that the coal at Moarra is the same as that at Kiangi, large and profitable works may be established on the island or on the mainland contiguous to it.

Near the northern end of the island of Labuan we again find coal, at high tide level, at the base of the cliff; the thickness of the seam was ascertained to be only twenty inches, dipping at an angle of about 18°. Subsequent search being made through the jungle to the westward, the seam has been discovered to crop out to the surface ten feet in thickness; instances of veins at the crop being considerably thicker than at a deeper

level are not infrequent. About 200 yards south of the coal there exists a bed of sandstone, intermixed with pebbles of coal in every respect similar to that found at Pulo-Cherimon; and south of this point the whole is found to be composed of a sandstone formation, containing likewise particles of coal. It should be observed that these beds are at least a hundred fathoms below the coal; it may therefore be inferred, that, at the period when they were deposited, the coal in the vicinity must have been subject to abrasion from tidal action. But as coal beds do not appear on the island of Labuan below that already discovered, it may be inferred that these pebbles of coal, which are found in the bed of sandstone, have been extracted from a seam or seams on the mainland. The presence of coal in the Brunè river, and at Pulo-Moarra warrants the supposition that this abraded matter may have been transported by tidal action from these points, and deposited in the bed of the sea where the island of Labuan is now found.

On the beach about half a mile north of the harbour we may observe new matter almost in the course of formation, by the amalgamation of its various materials, such as sand, shells, and pebbles; with a spring of water, holding a very considerable quantity of calcareous matter in suspension. During the fine weather, the intense heat of the sun causes the water of this spring to evaporate rapidly, and the lime which is necessarily deposited, fills the interior of the shells, and cements the

whole together. The violence of the waves, however, during the wet monsoon, throws it all into a state of confusion, which on the return of fine weather, reforms itself into more detached masses, and on a lengthened exposure to the heated atmosphere, becomes as hard and solid as limestone. It is singular, however, that the action of calcareous springs is not observed elsewhere to be so rapid and powerful.

THE END.

London:
Spottiswoode and Shaw,
New-street-Square.

Plan
of the plain cleared on the
ISLAND OF LABUAN
Jungle with tall trees
Long Grass & generally Swampy
PROPOSED SITE FOR THE TOWN
Stream of Fresh Water
Long grass & generally dry ground
Group of Fine trees
Wells
Flagstaff
Jetty
Pt Pasley
By Lieut. Heath
H.M.S. Iris.
Scale of Yards
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 Yards
PLAN
OF THE
ISLAND OF LABUAN
(Outline of Coast from Sir E. Belcher's Chart)
Shewing
The Streams &c of Fresh Water that were found along the Coast & near the Establishment at Point Pasley, during the stay of H.M.S. Iris in Decr 1846 & Janr 1847.
Flagstaff Lat. 5°. 14' N. Lon. 115. 16 E.
Average Thermometer
December 78
January 79
February 80
March 80
This part of Outline of Coast not Surveyed correctly
Coal Seam about 10 feet thick
Fresh Water half a days journey
Mangrove Swamp
Mangrove Swamp
Shoal Water
Coal in small value
Fresh Water 3 Streams at all seasons
Outline of Breakers and
The Streams on the S.E. side are of a dark reddish colour, but those on the North End and West Side are white and clear. Coal found at the N.E., S.E., and N.W. Points.
Chine Bank
Fresh Water very clear
Proposed Site for the Town
Pt Pasley
VICTORIA HARBOUR
Pt Hamilton
Small Fresh Water Run
Scale of Miles
Published by John Murray Albemarle Street London 1848
Lt C. Walker Sculp

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